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A Plan of the City of New York from an actual Survey

Made by James Lyne

To His Excellency
JOHN MONTGOMERIE Esq
Capt Gen.l & Gov.r in Chief
of his Majesties Provinces
of NEW YORK NEW JERSEY

This Plan of the City of
NEW YORK is humbly Dedicated
by Your Excellency's Obed.t
& most humble Servt
Wm Bradford

A Kings Chappel built 1726
B Trinity Church built
C Old Dutch Church
D French Church
E New Dutch Church
F Presbyterian Meeting
G Quaker Meeting
H Papist Meeting
I Lutheran Church
K Jews Synagogue

1 Gov.r House
2 Surveyors Office
3 Custom House
4 Weigh House
5 City Hall
6 Tyrars Sugar House
7 Exchange
8 Fish Market
9 Old Slip Market
10 Meat Market
11 Fly Market

A Scale of Feet 660 Feet
One 8 of a Mile.

North River

Bowling Green
Garden

Col.o Rob.t Lurting
MAYOR
1728

WARD
Kings Farm
COMMON
Rop Walk
Rop Street
High Road to Boston
Frankford Street
George Street
William Street
Golden Hill
Vanderclift Street
Beekmans Swamp
Cliff Street
Cherry Street
Maiden
Swamp

Broadway
Nassau Street
Wall Street
Queen Street
Smith Street
Broad Street
Princes Street
Bridge Street
Dock Street
Pearl Street
Stone Street
Mill Street
Meal Lane
Oyster Slip
Hanover Square
Parade
Beaver Street
New Barrack Street
Garden Street
Crown Street
Pine Street
Cedar Street
Liberty Street
Maiden Lane
Fly Market
Exchange
Fish Market
Meal Market
Old Slip Market
Coffee House
Court House
Weigh House
City Hall
Gov.r House
Surveyors Office
Tyrars Sugar House
Custom House
Fort
Fort Street
Fort Gate
Fort Dock
White Hall
W. Dock
E. Dock
Kennedy's Ship Yard
Hunters Key
Burnetts Key
Harbour

FACSIMILE of an original Map of New York in 1728, Published by F. B. Patterson, 61 Liberty Street 1874.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY

OF

NEW YORK CITY,

FROM THE

Discovery to the Present Day.

By WILLIAM L. STONE.

AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.";
"LIFE AND WRITINGS OF COL. WM. L. STONE,"
Etc., Etc., Etc.

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HISTORY

OF

NEW YORK CITY.

THE HISTORY OF NEW YORK NATURALLY DIVIDES ITSELF INTO THREE PERIODS OF TIME: — *First* — FROM ITS SETTLEMENT BY THE DUTCH TO ITS PERMANENT OCCUPANCY BY THE ENGLISH; *Second* — FROM THE ENGLISH CONQUEST TO THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR; AND, *Third* — FROM ITS EVACUATION BY THE BRITISH DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

FIRST PERIOD.

1598–1674.

The settlement of New York Island by the Dutch, and its permanent occupancy by the English.

It is the general belief that the first landing made on New York Island, or the "Island of Manhattan," as it was then called, was by Hendrick Hudson, in 1609. This, however, is not the case; since the earliest records extant state that as early as 1598, a few Hollanders, in the employ of a Greenland Company, were in the habit of resorting to New Netherlands (*i. e.* New York), not, it is true, with a design of effecting a settlement, but merely to secure a shelter during the winter months. With this view they built two small forts, to protect themselves against the Indians. Nevertheless, the fact remains undisputed, that to Hudson belongs the honor of being the first one who directed public attention to the Island of Manhattan as an advantageous point for a trading port in the New World.

On the 4th of April, 1609, the great navigator sailed out of the harbor of Amsterdam, and "by twelve of ye clocke" of the 6th he was two leagues off the land. He was in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, who had commissioned him to seek a passage to the East Indies by the north side of Nova Zembla. Having, however, found the sea at that part full of ice, he turned the prow of his little vessel, the *Half-Moon*, westward, and, after a month's cruise, reached the great Bank of Newfoundland, on the 2d of July. Thence he sailed southward to the James River, Virginia, and again altering his course—still in pursuit of a

new channel to India—he coasted along the shores of New Jersey, and on the 2d of September, 1609, cast anchor inside of Sandy Hook.

The topography of New York Island, as it was first seen by Hudson, was as follows:

"The lower part of it consisted of wood-crowned hills and beautiful grassy valleys, including a chain of swamps and marshes and a deep pond. Northward, it rose into a rocky, high ground. The sole inhabitants were a tribe of dusky Indians,—an off-shoot from the great nation of the Lenni Lenape, who inhabited the vast territory bounded by the Penobscot and Potomac, the Atlantic and Mississippi,—dwelling in the clusters of rude wigwams that dotted here and there the surface of the country. The rivers that gird the Island were as yet unstirred by the keels of ships, and the bark canoes of the native Manhattans held sole possession of the peaceful waters.

"The face of the country, more particularly described, was gently undulating, presenting every variety of hill and dale, of brook and rivulet. The upper part of the Island was rocky, and covered by a dense forest; the lower part grassy, and rich in wild fruit and flowers. Grapes and strawberries grew in abundance in the fields, and nuts of various kinds were plentiful in the forests, which were also filled with abundance of game. The brooks and ponds were swarming with fish, and the soil was of luxuriant fertility. In the vicinity of the present "Tombs" was a deep, clear, and beautiful pond of fresh water (with a picturesque little island in the middle)—so deep, indeed, that it could have floated the largest ship in our navy,—which was for a long time deemed bottomless by its possessors. This was fed by large springs at the bottom, which kept its waters fresh and flowing, and had its outlet in a little stream which flowed into the East River, near the foot of James street. Smaller ponds dotted the Island in various places, two of which, lying near each other, in the vicinity of the present corner of the Bowery and Grand street, collected the waters of the high grounds which surrounded them. To the northwest of the Fresh Water Pond, or "Kolck," as it afterwards came to be called, beginning in the vicinity of the present St. John's Park, and extending to the northward over an area of some seventy acres, lay an immense marsh, filled with reeds and brambles, and tenanted with frogs and water-snakes. A little rivulet connected this marsh with the Fresh Water Pond, which was also connected, by the stream which formed its outlet, with another strip of marshy land, covering the region now occupied by James, Cherry, and the adjacent streets. An unbroken chain of waters was thus stretched across the Island from James street at the southeast to Canal street at the northwest. An inlet occupied the place of Broad street, a marsh covered the vicinity of Ferry street, Rutgers street formed the center of another marsh, and a long line of meadows and swampy ground stretched to the northward along the eastern shore.

"The highest line of lands lay along Broadway, from the Battery to to the northernmost part of the Island, forming its backbone, and sloping gradually to the east and west. On the corner of Grand street and Broadway was a high hill, commanding a view of the whole Island, and falling off gradually to the Fresh Water Pond. To the south and west, the country, in the intervals of the marshes, was of great beauty—rolling, grassy, fertile, and well watered. A high range of sand hills traversed a part of the Island, from Varick and Charlton to Eighth and Greene streets. To the north of these lay a valley, through which ran a brook, which formed the outlet of the springy marshes at Washington Square, and emptied into the North River at the foot of Hammersly street." *

Meanwhile, Hudson, having explored the river that bears his name as far as the present City of Albany, set sail on the 4th of October for Europe, bearing the news of the discovery of a new country—the opening for a new *commerce*; for although his patrons were disappointed in finding a short road to the land of silks, teas, and spices, still, his great discovery was destined to open in future time mines of wealth, more valuable than all the imagined riches of the Celestial Empire.

At that period, Holland carried on a lucrative trade with the East Indies and Russia. Every year they dispatched nearly one hundred ships to Archangel for furs; but Hudson's glowing accounts of the rich peltry he had seen in the newly discovered regions soon turned the attention of the busy Dutch to a country where these articles could be purchased without the taxes of custom-houses and other duties. Accordingly, in the year 1610, a few merchants dispatched another vessel, under the command of the *Half-Moon's* former mate, to traffic in furs with the Indians. This venture met with such success, that two years after, in 1612, the *Fortune* and the *Tiger*, commanded, respectively, by Hendrick Christiaenson and Adrien Block, sailed on a trading voyage to the "Mauritius River," as the Hudson was first named. The following year, also, three more vessels, commanded by Captains De Witt, Volckertsen, and Wey, sailed from Amsterdam and Hoven on a similar adventure. These were the beginnings of the important fur trade, which was, ere long, to be a chief source of wealth to Holland and America. It was now determined to open a regular communication with the newly-discovered region, and to make the Island of Manhattan the dépôt of the fur trade in America. It was also resolved to establish permanent agents here for the purchase and collection of skins, while the vessels were on their voyages to and from Holland. Captain Hendrick Christiaensen became the first agent, and built a redoubt, with four small houses, on ground which, it is said, is now the site of No. 39 Broadway.

A little navy was commenced about the same period, by Captain

* Miss M. L. Booth's History of New York.

Adrien Block, one of the vessels of which was accidentally burned, just on the eve of his departure for Holland. Having abundant materials, however, in the Island of Manhattan, he finished another; and in the spring of 1614, launched the first vessel ever built in New Amsterdam. She was named the *Restless*, a yacht of sixteen tons—a name prophetic of the ever-busy and future great city. The entire winter passed in building the vessel, the Indians kindly supplying the strangers with food. Such were the earliest movements of commerce in New Netherlands two centuries and a half ago!

A few months before Captain Block's return to Holland, the States-General of the Netherlands, with a view of encouraging emigration, passed an ordinance granting the discoverers of new countries the exclusive privilege of trading at Manhattan during four voyages. Accordingly, the merchants who had sent out the first expedition had a map made of all the country between Canada and Virginia, as the whole new region was called, and, claiming to be the original discoverers, petitioned the Government for the promised monopoly. Their petition was granted; and on the 11th of October, 1614, they obtained a charter for the exclusive right of trade on the territory within the 40th and 45th degrees of north latitude. The charter also forbade all other persons to interfere with this monopoly, in the penalty of confiscating both, vessels and cargoes, with a fine also of 50,000 Dutch ducats for the benefit of the charter's grantees. The new province first formally received the name of *New Netherland* in this document; and Dutch merchants, associating themselves under the name of the "United New Netherland Company," straightway prepared to conduct their operations on a more extensive scale. Trading parties to the interior hastened to collect furs from the Indians, and deposit them at Forts Nassau (Albany) and Manhattan. Jacob Eelkins, a shrewd trader, received the appointment of agent at the former place, where the first one, Captain Christiaensen, had been murdered by an Indian. This was the first murder ever recorded in the new province.

In the year 1617, a formal treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the Dutch and the powerful nation of the Iroquois. The pipe of peace was smoked, and the hatchet buried in the earth, on the present site of Albany. This treaty, as may readily be imagined, greatly increased the prosperity of the Dutch traders, who had hitherto occupied Manhattan merely by the sufferance of the Indians. Their agents accordingly at once extended their trips further into the interior, obtaining on each trip valuable furs in exchange for the muskets and ammunition so much coveted by the natives. This trade became so profitable, that when the charter of the United New Netherland Company expired, in 1618, they petitioned for a renewal, but failing to obtain it, they continued their trade two or three years longer, under a special license.

Up to this period, the Hollanders had considered Manhattan as a

trading post only, and dwelt in mere temporary huts of rude construction. But the British now explored the American coast, claiming the whole region between Canada and Virginia, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans; and the Dutch, consequently, began to realize the importance of securing their American possessions in the new province. The English Puritans, hearing glowing accounts of New Netherland, requested permission to emigrate there with their families. But the States-General, having other plans in view, declined the prayers of the Puritans. They thought it better policy to supply the new province with their own countrymen, and on the 3d of June, 1621, granted a charter to the West India Company for twenty years, which conferred upon them the exclusive jurisdiction over New Netherland. It may well be questioned whether the States-General acted wisely in the course thus pursued. Had it filled the land, as the English were doing, with crowds of hardy, moral emigrants and pioneers—farmers, with their cattle and husbandry—the Dutch settlements would have advanced with far greater rapidity. Be this, however, as it may, the West India Company no sooner became possessed of the charter, than it at once became a power in the new country. Having the exclusive right of trade and commerce in the Atlantic, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, upon the eastern continent, and from Newfoundland to Magellan Straits, on the western, their influence over this immense territory was almost boundless in making contracts with the Indians, building forts, administering justice, and appointing public officers. In return, the chartered Company pledged itself to colonize the new territory. The government of this association was vested in five separate chambers or boards of management, in five principal Dutch cities: Amsterdam, Middleburg, Dordrecht, one in North Holland, and one in Friesland. The details of its management were intrusted to an executive board of nineteen, commonly called the *Assembly of Nineteen*. The States-General further promised, on its part, to give the Company a million of guilders, and in case of war, to supply ships and men. Meanwhile, the Puritans, not disheartened, reached Plymouth Rock, and thus conveyed their faith and traffic to the shores of New England, where they continue to this day.

The West India Company now began to colonize the new province with fresh zeal. The Amsterdam Chamber, in 1623, fitted out a ship of 250 tons, the *New Netherland*, in which thirty families embarked for the distant territory whose name she bore. Captain Wey commanded the expedition, having been appointed the first Director of the province. Most of these colonists were *Walloons*, or French Protestants, from the borders of France and Belgium, and sought a home from religious persecutions in their own land.

With the arrival of the *New Netherland*, a new era in the domestic history of the settlement began. Soon saw-mills supplied the necessary timber for comfortable dwellings, in the place of the bark-huts built after

the Indian fashion. The new buildings were generally one-story high, with two rooms on a floor, and a thatched roof garret. From the want of brick and mortar, the chimneys were constructed of wood. The interior was, as a matter of course, very scantily supplied with furniture—the great chest from *Fatherland*, with its prized household goods, being the most imposing article. Tables were generally the heads of barrels placed on end; rough shelves constituted the cupboard, and chairs were logs of wood rough-hewn from the forest. To complete the furniture, there was the well known "*Sloap Banck*," or sleeping-bench—the bedstead—where lay the boast, the pride, the comfort of a Dutch housekeeper, the feather-bed. Around the present Battery and Coenties Slip and the Bowling Green were the houses, a few of which were surrounded by gardens. The fruit-trees often excited the thievish propensities of the natives, and one devastating war followed the shooting of an Indian girl while stealing peaches from an orchard on Broadway, near the present Bowling Green. Meanwhile, commerce kept pace with the new houses, and the staunch ship, the *New Netherland*, returned to Holland with a cargo of furs valued at $12,000.

Anxious to fulfill its part of the agreement, the West India Company, in 1625, also sent out to Manhattan three ships and a yacht, containing a number of families, armed with farming implements, and 103 head of cattle. Fearing the cattle might be lost in the surrounding forests, the settlers landed them on Nutten's (Governor's) Island, but afterward conveyed them to Manhattan. Two more vessels shortly after arrived from Holland, and the settlement soon numbered some 200 persons, and gave promise of permanency.

In the year 1624, Wey, returning to Holland, William Verhulst succeeded him in the Directorship. The latter, however, did not long enjoy the emoluments of office, for at the end of a year he also was recalled, and Peter Minuit appointed, in his place, Director-General of New Netherland, with full power to organize a provisional government. He arrived May 4, 1626, in the ship *Seamen*, Adrian Jovis, captain. The first seal was now granted to the province, having for a crest, a beaver, than which, for a coat of arms, nothing could have been more appropriate. It was fitting that the earliest Hollanders of the "Empire City" should thus honor the animal that was so fast enriching them in their newly-adopted home.

To the credit of Director Minuit, be it said, the very first act of his administration was to purchase in an open and honorable manner the Island of Manhattan from the Indians for sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. The Island itself was estimated to contain 22,000 acres. The price paid, it is true, was a mere trifle, but the purchase itself was lawful and satisfactory to the aboriginal owners—a fact which cannot be truly said in regard to other regions taken from the Indians.

To assist him in carrying out his instructions, the Director was furnished with an Executive Council. The latter body was, in turn, assisted by the *Koopman*, who acted as Secretary to the province and book-keeper of the public warehouse. Last of all, came the *Schout-Fiscal*, a civil factotum, half sheriff and attorney-general, executive officer of the Council, and general custom-house official. Thus early had the Dutch an eye to the "main chance," the export of furs that year (1626) amounting to $19,000, and giving promise of a constant increase.

Some thirty rudely-constructed log-houses now extended along the shores of the East River, and these, with a block-house, a horse-mill, and a "Company's" thatched stone building, constituted the settlement two hundred and forty-two years since of the present City of New York. Clergyman or schoolmaster was as yet unknown in the infant colony. Every settler had his own cabin and cows, tilled his land, or traded with the Indians—all were busy, like their own emblem, the beaver.

In the year 1629, the "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions" was granted in Holland, and *patroons* were allowed to settle in the new colony. This important document transferred to the free soil of America the old feudal tenure and burdens of Continental Europe. The proposed *Patrooneries* were only transcripts of the *Seigneuries* and *Lordships* so common at that period, and which the French were, at the same time, establishing in Canada. In that province, even at the present day, the feudal appendages of jurisdiction, preëmption rights, monopolies of mines, minerals, and waters, with hunting, fishing, and fowling, form a part of the civil law. Pursuing, however, a more liberal policy, the grantees of the charter to the New Netherland *patroons* secured the Indian's right to his native soil, at the same time enjoining schools and churches.

Meanwhile, the settlement in New Netherland continued to prosper, and soon became the principal depot for the fur and coasting trade of the *patroons*. The latter were obliged to land all their cargoes at Fort Amsterdam; and in the years 1629–30, the imports from old Amsterdam amounted to 113,000 guilders, and the exports from Manhattan exceeded 130,000. The Company reserved the exclusive right to the fur trade, and imposed a duty of five per cent. on all the trade of the *patroons*.

The inhabitants, in order not to be idle, turned their attention, with fresh zeal, to ship-building, and with so much success, that as early as 1631, New Amsterdam had become the metropolis of the New World. The *New Netherland*, a ship of 800 tons, was built at Manhattan, and dispatched to Holland—an important event of the times, since the vessel was one of the largest merchantmen of the world. It was a very costly experiment, however, and was not soon repeated. Emigrants from all nations now began to flock into the new colony. They were principally induced to come by the liberal offers of the Dutch Company, who transported them in its own vessels at the cheap rate of twelve and a half cents *per diem* for

passage and stores; giving them, also, as a still further inducement, as much land as they could cultivate. Nor were these the only reasons which caused so many to leave their *Fatherland*. With a wise and liberal policy, totally different from that of its eastern neighbors, the Dutch province granted the fullest religious toleration. The Walloons, Calvinists, Huguenots, Quakers, Catholics, and Jews, all found a safe and religious home in New Netherland, and here laid the broad and solid foundation of that tolerant character ever since retained by the City of New York. In our streets and along our broad avenues may be seen on any Sabbath, Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, all worshipping God in their sacred temples, and "according to the dictates of their own consciences."

In the meantime, the Directors of the West India Company calculated, with the strong aid of the *patroons*, upon colonizing the new country, and, at the same time, securing the important free trade in their own hands. But they were met, almost at the outset, with serious opposition from that class who, not content with a negative policy, took active measures to seriously injure this traffic. From the first, the object of the *patroons* had seemed to be a participation in the Indian trade, rather than the colonization of the country; and they had even claimed the privilege of trafficing with the Indians from Florida to Newfoundland, according to their charter of 1629. This extensive trade the West India Company justly considered an interference with their vested rights and interests, and no time was lost in presenting their complaints to the States-General. That body thereupon adopted new articles, the effect of which was essentially to limit the privileges already granted to the *patroons*. This misunderstanding had the effect of interrupting, for a time, the efforts making to colonize and advance the new country. At length, in 1632, both parties became in a complete state of antagonism as to their privileged charters; and, for a little time, a civil war seemed inevitable. In the same year (1632), Peter Minuit, the Director, it will be remembered, of New Netherland, was suspected of favoring the *patroons*, and was recalled from his Directorship. He returned to Holland in the ship *Eendragt* (which had brought over his dismissal), which carried, also, a return cargo of 5,000 beaver-skins—an evidence of the colony's commercial prosperity. The vessel, driven by stress of weather, put into the harbor of Plymouth, where she was retained, on the ground of having illegally interfered with English monopolies. This arrest of the Dutch trader led to a correspondence between the rival powers, in which the respective claims of each were distinctly set forth. The Hollanders claimed the province on the following grounds: 1st. Its discovery by them in the year 1609; 2d. The return of their people in 1610; 3d. The grant of a trading charter in 1614; 4th. The maintainance of a fort, until 1621, when the West India Company was organized; and, 5th. Their purchase of the land from the Indians. The English, on the

contrary, defended their right of possession from the prior discovery of Cabot, and the patent of James I. to the Plymouth Company. The Indians, they argued, as wanderers, were not the *bona fide* owners of the land, and hence, had no right to dispose of it; consequently, their titles must be invalid. But England, being at this period just on the eve of a civil war, was in no condition to enforce her claims; and she, therefore, having released the *Fendragt*, contented herself with the mere assumption of authority—reserving the accomplishment of her designs until a more convenient season.

At length, in the month of April, 1633, the ship *Southberg* reached Manhattan with Wouter Van Twiller, the new Director-General (or Governor), and a military force of one hundred and four soldiers, together with a Spanish caraval, captured on the way. Among the passengers, also came Dominie Everadus Bogardus and Adam Roolansen, the first regular clergyman and schoolmaster to New Amsterdam. A church now became indispensable; and the room over the horse-mill, where prayers had been regularly read for seven years, was abandoned for a rude, wooden church, on Pearl, between Whitehall and Broad streets, on the shore of the East River. This was the first Reformed Dutch Church in the city; and near by were constructed the parsonage and the Dominie's stables. The grave-yard was laid out on Broadway, in the vicinity of Morris street.

Van Twiller occupied "Farm No. 1" of the Company, which extended from Wall to Hudson street. "Farm No. 3," at Greenwich, he appropriated as his tobacco plantation. The new Governor and the Dominie did not harmonize. Bogardus having interfered in public concerns, which Van Twiller resented, the former, from his pulpit, pronounced the Governor a "Child of Satan." This, doubtless, was very true, but the "Child of Satan" became so incensed, as never to enter the church-door again. Early times had their own peculiar ways of doing things, the same as ourselves. In 1638, "for slandering the Rev. E. Bogardus," an old record states, "a woman was obliged to appear at the sound of a bell, in the fort, before the Governor and Council, and say that she knew he was honest and pious, and that she had lied falsely."

Van Twiller had been promoted from a clerkship in the Company's warehouse, and seems to have been a very incompetent Governor. He probably obtained the place, not from fitness, but from the same means which act in similar cases at the present day, viz.: political influence, arising from the fact that he had married the daughter of Killian Van Rensselaer, the wealthy *patroon*.

The Company had authorized him to fortify the depots of the fur trade. Accordingly, the fort on the Battery, commenced in the year 1626, was rebuilt, and a guard-house and barracks prepared for the soldiers. Several brick and stone dwellings were erected within the fort, and three wind-

mills, used to grind the grain necessary for the garrison, on the southwest bastion of the fort. African slaves were the laborers principally engaged upon these improvements. At a subsequent period, when these slaves had grown old, they petitioned the authorities for their freedom, and recounted their services at the time mentioned in support of their application, in proof of which they presented a certificate, given them by their overseer: "That, during the adminstration of Van Twiller, he (Jacob Stoffelsen), as overseer of the Company's negroes, was continually employed with said negroes in the construction of Fort Amsterdam, which was finished in 1635; and that the negroes assisted in chopping trees for the big house, making and splitting palisades, and other work." The "big house" here referred to was the Governor's residence. It was built of brick, and was, no doubt, a substantial edifice, as it is found to have served for the residence of successive chiefs of the colony during all the Dutch era, and for a few years subsequent.

In respect to the walls of the fort, they were in no wise improved by the incompetent Van Twiller, except the northwest bastion, which was faced with stone. The other parts of the walls were simply banks of earth without ditches; nor were they even surrounded by a fence to keep off the goats and other animals running at large in the town. When Governor Kief arrived, in 1638, as Van Twiller's successor, he found the fort in a decayed state: "opening on every side, so that nothing could obstruct going in or coming out, except at the stone point." Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the fort exercised a very salutary influence in keeping the Indians at a respectful distance.*

In 1633, the commercial importance of New Amsterdam was increased by the grant of the "Staple Right," a sort of feudal privilege similar to the institutions of *Fatherland*. By it, all vessels trading along the coast, or sailing on the rivers, were obliged either to discharge their cargoes at the port, or pay certain duties. This soon became a valuable right, as it gave to New Amsterdam the commercial monopoly of the whole Dutch province.

A short time before the arrival of Governor Van Twiller, De Vries, whose little colony at Suaaendael, Delaware, had been cut off by the

* In 1641, an Indian war broke out, and raged for many months, resulting in the complete devastation of most of the farms and exposed settlements, even those lying within a stone's-throw of Fort Amsterdam. The frightened settlers fled to the fort; but the accommodation in the fort not affording them an adequate shelter, they established their cottages as close as possible to the protecting ramparts. Thus it was that two or three new streets were formed around the southern and eastern walls of the fort. After the danger had passed, these buildings were allowed to remain, and grants of land were made to the possessors. Thus was formed that portion of the present Pearl street west of Whitehall street, and also a portion of the latter street.—*Valentine's Manual.*

Indians, returned to America on a visit, in the mammoth ship. *New Netherland.* A yacht, about this time, also arrived—the English ship, *William*, with Jacob Eelkins, who had been dismissed as supercargo by the Company, in 1632. Enraged by this dismissal, he had entered the service of the English, and had now returned to promote their interests in the fur trade on the Mauritius (Hudson) River.

This was a bold act, and contrary to the policy of the West India Company. Accordingly, Van Twiller, who, though an inefficient Governor, was a thorough merchant, and understood the important monopoly of the fur trade, refused permission for the vessel to proceed further on its way. His demand upon Eelkins for his commission was refused by the latter, on the ground that he occupied British territory, and would sail up the river at the cost, if need be, of his life. Thereupon, the Director, ordering the national flag to be hoisted, and three guns fired in honor of the Prince of Orange, forbade him to proceed further in the name of his master, the Dutch Government. But, far from being daunted by this prohibition, Eelkins answered by running up, in his turn, the British colors, firing a salute for King Charles, and coolly steering up the river in defiance of Fort Amsterdam. The amazement of Van Twiller at the audacity of the ex-Dutch Agent may be easily imagined. Astonished, as he was, at this daring act, the Director, nevertheless, proceeded very philosophically: First, he summoned all the people in front of the fort, now the Bowling Green; next, he ordered a cask of wine, and another of beer; then, filling his own glass, he called on all good citizens who loved the Prince of Orange to follow his patriotic example, and drink confusion to the English Government. The people, of course, were not slow in obeying this reasonable request; indeed, what more could they do, for the English ship was now far beyond all reach, safely pursuing her way up the Hudson. Still, while they drank his wine, they were deeply mortified at the Governor's cowardice. De Vries openly accused him with it, and plainly told him, if it had been his case, he should have sent some "eight-pound beans" after the impudent Englishman, and helped him down the river again; but it being now too late to do this, he should send the *Southberg* after him, and drive him down the river. The effect of this advice was not lost upon the Governor, for in a few days after, Van Twiller screwed up his courage sufficiently to dispatch an armed force to Fort Orange (Albany), where Eelkins had pitched his tent, and where he was found busily engaged in trading with the Indians. The Dutch soldiers quickly destroyed his canvas store, and, reshipping the goods, brought the vessel back to Fort Amsterdam. Eelkins was then required to give up his peltry; after which, he was sent to sea, with the warning never again to interfere with the Dutch Government trade.

Meanwhile, the settlement at Fort Amsterdam—the New York embryo—continued to increase and prosper, men of enterprise and wealth

often arriving. Most of these came from the Dutch Netherlands, and thus transferred the domestic economy and habits of Holland and the Rhine to the banks of the Hudson. Ships were loaded with bricks, burnt in Holland; and at first, every dwelling was modeled after those they had left, and with store-rooms for trade, like those of Amsterdam and other trading towns in *Fatherland*. Thus, at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange (Albany), rows of houses could be seen built of imported brick, with thatched roofs, wooden chimneys, and their gable ends always toward the street. Inside were all the neatness, frugality, order, and industry which the inmates brought from their native land. A few of these original, venerable Dutch homes were to be seen, till within a year or two, in this city; but we do not know of a single one now. Several yet remain in Albany; and it is almost worth a trip there to see these striking relics of "ye olden time." Until the year 1642, city lots and streets were unknown, adventurers and settlers selecting land wherever most convenient for their purpose. Hence the crooked courses of some of our down-town streets.*

Cornelius Dircksen owned a farm by the present Peck Slip, and ferried passengers across the East River for the small price of three stivers, in *wampum*. At that time, Pearl street formed the bank of the river. Water, Front, and South streets have all been reclaimed for the purpose of increasing trade and commerce. The old wooden, *shingled house*, one of the last venerable relics of the olden time on the corner of Peck Slip, was so near the river, that a stone could easily be thrown into it. Pearl, it is thought, was the first street occupied, the first houses being built here, in 1633. Bridge street came next; and a deed is still in existence for a lot on it, thirty-four by one hundred and ten feet, for the sum of twenty-four guilders, or nine dollars and sixty cents. This is the earliest conveyance of city property on record. Whitehall, Stone, Broad, Beaver, and Marketfield were opened soon after. In the year 1642, the first grant of a city lot, east of the fort at the Battery, was made to Hendricksen Rip. During the next year, several lots were granted on the lower end of "Heese Straat," as Broadway was then named. Martin Krigier was the first grantee of a lot in this section, opposite the Bowling Green, which contained eighty-six rods. There he built the well-known "Krigier's Tavern," which soon became a fashionable resort.†

Nor during all this time did the fur trade fail to keep pace with the growing local prosperity of the place. During the year 1635, the Directors

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* Pearl street, for instance.

† Upon the demolishment of this tavern, the "King's Arms' Tavern" occupied its place, which in after years was the headquarters of the British General Gage. Subsequently, it became the "Atlantic Garden," No. 9 Broadway, where it long remained one of the striking mementoes of the olden time.

in Holland received returns from this province to the amount of nearly 135,000 guilders. But the traffic in furs was not the only source of gain. Besides that monopoly, they had commenced a profitable commerce with New England. Dutch vessels brought tobacco, salt, horses, oxen, and sheep from Holland to Boston. An old account says they came from the Texel in five weeks and three days, "and lost not one beast or sheep." Potatoes from Bermuda were worth two pence the pound; a good cow, twenty-five or thirty pounds; and a pair of oxen readily brought forty pounds. In Virginia, corn rose to twenty shillings the bushel during the year 1637; a shepel, or three pecks of rye, brought two guilders, or eighty cents; and a laborer readily earned, during harvest, two guilders *per diem*. These were high prices for those times, and were probably caused, in a measure, by the sanguinary war which the New England Puritans* were carrying on with their Indian neighbors. The Pequods, failing to deliver the murderers of Stone, according to treaty, had tendered an atonement of *wampum*, but Massachusetts demanded "blood for blood"; and they obtained it in the wars that followed. Winthrop says: "Scarcely a *sannup*, a woman, a *squaw*, or a child of the Pequod name, survived.' An aboriginal nation had been exterminated. It is the fashion to indulge in much panegyric about these ancestral doings, but here we can calmly trace the *first* attempt of the white race to extirpate the red men from their ancestral birthright of the northern regions of America.

Notwithstanding, however, the large prices obtained for its wares, the year 1638 found the condition of New Netherland very unpromising. Although its affairs had now been administered for fifteen years by that powerful body, the West India Company, still, the country was scarcely removed from its primitive wilderness state, and, excepting the Indians, it was inhabited by only a few traders and clerks of a distant corporation. Its rich, virgin soil remained almost entirely uncultivated, and the farms did not amount to more than half a dozen. Doubtless, the Directors of the West India Company governed New Netherland chiefly to promote their own special interests—to advance which, large sums had been expended. But no efforts had been made as yet to introduce, on a large scale, a sound and industrious emigration. The *patroon* system also, to which reference has already been made, greatly retarded the settlement of the colony. A monopoly, its *patroons* neglected their most important duties as planters, and used their energies and means to compete with the Company in the Indian trade; consequently, misunderstandings and disputes followed which became almost fatal to the prosperity of the new settlement.

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* *Puritans*, not *Pilgrims*. These terms, though generally used synonomously, refer to two entirely different classes of men. The *Pilgrims* never practiced religious persecution; the *Puritans* did. The Pilgrims came over some fifteen years earlier than the Puritans.

At this critical moment, William Kieft, the third Director-General and Governor, arrived March, 1638, as the successor of the weak Van Twiller. His first step was to organize a Council, retaining, however, its entire control. Dr. Johannes La Montagnie, a learned Huguenot, was appointed by him a member of this new board; Cornelis Van Tienhoven, from Utrecht, one of the oldest settlers, was made Colonial Secretary, with a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars *per annum;* while Ulrich Leopold continued as Schout-Fiscal, or Sheriff and Attorney-General. Adrian Dircksen was made Assistant-Commissary, because he spoke correctly the language of the Mohawks, and was "well versed in the art of trading with them." The Rev. Mr. Bogardus continued the Dominie, and Adam Roolansen the Schoolmaster.*

The new Governor found the town in an extremely dilapidated condition. The fort, rebuilt only three years before, under a *government contract*, had lasted about as long as work generally does that is performed by army or government contractors, either of the past or present day. It had fallen completely into decay; all the guns were off their carriages; and the public buildings, as well as the church, were all out of repair; only one of the three wind-mills was in operation; and the Company's fine farms had no tenants—not even a goat remaining upon them. But the new Governor came charged with more onerous duties than simply the repair of houses; he was the bearer of a decree that no person in the Dutch Company's employ should trade in peltry, or import any furs, under a penalty of losing their wages, and a confiscation of their goods. Abuses also existed in all the departments of the public service, which Kieft vainly attempted to remedy by proclamations. Death was threatened against all who should sell guns or powder to the Indians; after nightfall, all sailors were to remain on board their vessels; no persons could retail any liquors, "except those who sold wine at a decent price, and in moderate quantities," under penalty of twenty-five guilders (ten dollars), and the loss of their stock. Tobacco, then as now, was greatly in demand, the rich, virgin soil about New Amsterdam suiting the plant well; consequently, plantations for its cultivation increased so fast, that the plant was now also subjected to excise, and regulations were published by the Director to regulate its mode of culture, and check certain abuses which was injuring "the high name" it had "gained in foreign countries."† But the new Governor did not confine himself to correcting *official* abuses solely; he issued also, proclamations to improve the *moral* condition of

* Here are some of the salaries of that early day, which we give for the benefit of some of our city officials: La Montagnie, as Member of the Council, fourteen dollars a month; book-keeper, fourteen dollars and forty cents, with eighty dollars for his yearly board; the mason, eight dollars; joiner, six dollars and forty cents; carpenter, seven dollars and fifty cents, and forty dollars a year for board!

† Albany Records, II., 3—12.

the settlement; and all persons were seriously enjoined to abstain from "fighting, calumny, and all other immoralities," as the guilty would be punished, and made a terror to evil-doers. Rightly judging also, that public worship would be a peaceful auxiliary to his labors, and the old wooden church built by Van Twiller having fallen to pieces, he determined to erect a new one inside the fort. Jochem Pietersen, Knyter, Jan. Jansen Damen, with Kieft and Captain Vries, as "Kirke Meesters," superintended the new work, and John and Richard Ogden were the masons. The building was of stone, seventy-two by fifty-two feet, and sixteen high, and cost 2,500 guilders; its legend, translated from the Dutch, read: "Anno Domini, 1642, Wilhelm Kieft, Director-General, hath the Commonalty caused to build this temple." New Amsterdam had a town-bell; this was now removed to the belfry of the new church, whence it regulated the city movements, the time for laborers, the courts, merry wedding peals, tolled the funerals, and called the people to the Lord's House.*

Hardly, however, had Kieft got his plans for the moral reformation of his people fairly under way, when, as before hinted, the *patroons* began to give fresh trouble; that class now (1638) demanded "new privileges"—"that they might monopolize more territory—be invested with the largest feudal powers, and enjoy free trade throughout New Netherland." Nor was this all. In their arrogance, they also demanded that all "private persons" and poor emigrants should not be allowed to purchase lands from the Indians, but should settle within the colonies under the jurisdiction of the manorial lords—*i. e.*, *themselves*.

These grasping demands of the *patroons* were reserved for future consideration by the States-General; and it was determined to try free competition in the internal trade of New Netherland. A notification was accordingly published by the Amsterdam Chamber, that all the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and of friendly countries, might convey to New Netherland, "in the Company's ships," any cattle and merchandise, and might "receive whatever returns they or their agents may be able to

* At this period (1638), the settlers in New Amsterdam obtained their supplies from the Company's store at fifty per cent. advance on prime cost, a list of prices being placed in a conspicuous position in some place of public resort. Here are some of the rates: Indian corn, sixty cents per schepel of three pecks; barley, two dollars; peas, three dollars and twenty-five cents; flour, one dollar; pork, five stivers; fresh meat, five; butter, eight; tobacco, seven; dried fish, twelve (two York shillings) per pound; hard-bread, fifteen; rye, five; wheaten, seven; cabbage, twelve dollars per hundred; staves, thirty-two dollars per thousand; a hog, eight dollars; ordinary wine, thirty-one dollars per hogshead; Spanish wine, four stivers; French wine, ten per quart; sugar, seventeen and twenty-four per pound; flannel, one dollar and twenty cents per ell; cloth, two dollars; white linen, eighteen to twenty stivers; red flannels, one dollar and twenty cents; children's shoes, thirty-six stivers, or six York shillings; a pair of brass kettles, forty cents each.

obtain in those quarters therefor." A duty of ten per cent. was paid to the Company on all goods exported from New Netherland with the freight. Every emigrant, upon his arrival at New Amsterdam, was to receive "as much land as he and his family could properly cultivate." This liberal system gave a great impulse to the prosperity of New Netherland, by encouraging the emigration of substantial colonists, not only from Holland, but from Virginia and New England. *Conscience* had ever been free in New Netherland, and now trade and commerce were also made free to all. Political franchise in Massachusetts was limited to church members, and now "many men began to inquire after the Southern ports," not from the climate there, or the necessary wants of life, but, in the language of the old chronicler, "to escape their insupportable government." The only obligation required of emigrants was an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the colony, the same as imposed upon the Dutch settlers. Both parties enjoyed equal privileges.

This free internal trade, however, produced some irregularities; and a new proclamation now became necessary to warn all persons against selling guns or ammunition to the Indians. Still another edict prohibited persons from sailing to Fort Orange (Albany), and the South River (Fort Hope), and returning without a passport. Another very unpopular edict also, was shortly after issued by Kieft. His extreme anxiety to serve his *patrons* caused him to "demand some tribute" of maize, furs, or *sewant*, from the neighboring Indians, "whom," he said, "we have thus far defended against their enemies;" and in case of their refusal, proper measures were to be taken to "remove their reluctance."

In regard, however, to the Governor's proclamation against selling guns, &c., to the Indians, nothing can be said against it. The case demanded it. Freedom of trade with the savages had, indeed, run into abuses and injurious excesses.

The colonists neglected agriculture for the quicker gains of traffic; and at times by settling "far in the interior of the country," and, by great familiarity and "treating," brought themselves into contempt with the Indians. Evil consequences, as a matter of course, followed this unwise conduct—the most unfortunate of which was supplying the savages with new weapons of defense. They considered the gun, at first, "the *Devil*," and would not even touch it; but, once discovering its fatal use, eagerly sought the fire-arms of the whites. They would willingly barter twenty beaver-skins for a single musket, and pay ten or twelve guilders for a pound of powder. As no merchandise became so valuable to the red men, the West India Company foresaw the evil of arming the savages, and declared the trade in fire-arms contraband. It even forbade the supply to the New Netherland Indians, under penalty of death. But the prospect of large profits easily nullified this law of prudence and wisdom.

In 1640, Director Kieft determined upon another unwise measure, viz.: the exaction of a contribution, a tax of corn, furs, and *wampum* from the Indians about Fort Amsterdam. This and other improper acts entirely estranged them from the settlers, and laid the foundation of a bloody war, which, the next year (1641), desolated New Netherland. Meanwhile, Kieft, continuing stubborn, sent sloops to Tappan to levy contributions; but the natives indignantly refused to pay the novel tribute. In their own plain language, they wondered how the Sachem at the fort dared to exact such things from them. He must be, they said, a very shabby fellow; he had come to live in their land, where they had not invited him, and now came to deprive them of their corn, for no equivalent. They, therefore, refused to pay, adding this unanswerable argument: "If we have ceded to you the country you are living in, we yet remain masters of what we have retained for ourselves!"

Notwithstanding, however, the many injudicious acts of Governor Kieft, it cannot be denied that, during his administration, the trade of New Amsterdam began to be better regulated. The streets of the town also, were better laid out in the lower section of the city.* In 1641, Kieft instituted two annual fairs, for the purpose of encouraging agriculture—one of which was held in October, for cattle, and the other the next month, for hogs, upon the Bowling Green. The holding of these fairs opened the way for another important addition to the comfort of the town. No tavern, as yet, had been started in the Dutch settlement; and the numerous visitors from the interior and the New England colonies had to avail themselves of the Governor's hospitalities. The fairs increasing in number, Kieft found them a heavy tax upon his politeness, as well as his larder; and, in 1642, he erected a large, stone tavern, at the Company's expense. It was situated on a commanding spot, near the present Coenties Slip, and was afterward altered into the "*Stadt Huys*," or City Hall.

The Governor now succeeded better, not only in enforcing law and restraining contraband trade, but in checking the importation of bad *wampum*, which had become a serious loss to the traders, by reducing its value from four to six beads for a stiver.

This *wampum* or *sewant*, from its close connection with the early trade of New Netherland, requires special notice. This kind of money, or circulating medium, embraced two kinds, the *wampum* or white, and the Sackanhook Suci, or black *sewant*. The former was made from the periwinkle, and the latter from the purple part of the hard clam. These, rounded into beads and polished, with drilled holes, were strung upon the sinews of animals, and woven into different size belts. Black beads were twice as valuable as the white, and the latter became, therefore, naturally,

*The price of lots, 30x125 feet, averaged at this period about $14.

the standard of value. A string, a fathom long,* was worth four guilders. The best article was manufactured by the Long Island Indians; and, until a comparatively late period, the Montauks on that Island, or rather, their descendants, manufactured this shell money for the interior tribes. A clerk of John Jacob Astor many years ago informed the Hon. G. P. Disosway that he had visited Communipaw, and purchased, for his employer from the Dutch this article by the *bushel*, to be used by the great fur dealer in his purchases among the distant savages. It might, perhaps, be a curious question, how many bushels of *wampum* is invested, for example, in the hotel which bears the name of the great fur millionaire? The New England Indians, imitating their whiter-faced neighbors, made a *cheaper wampum*, rough, of inferior quality, and badly strung. Nor was it long before the New Englanders introduced large quantities of their imperfect beads into New Netherland for the Dutchman's goods; next, beads of porcelain were manufactured in Europe, and circulated among the colonists, until the evil finally became so great, that the Council, in 1641, published an ordinance, declaring that a large quantity of bad *sewant*, imported from other places, was in circulation, while the good and really fine *sewant*, usually called "Manhattan *Sewant*," was kept out of sight, or exported—a state of things which must eventually ruin the country. To cure this public evil, the ordinance provided that all coarse *sewant*, well stringed, should pass for one stiver. This is the first ordinance, on record, to regulate such currency. In the year 1647, they were again reduced from six to eight for a stiver, and thus became the commercial greenbacks of the early Dutch.

About this period, the increasing intercourse and business with the English settlements made it necessary that more attention should be paid to the English language. Governor Kieft had, it is true, some knowledge of the English tongue; but his subordinates were generally ignorant of it—a circumstance which often caused great embarrassment. George Baxter was accordingly appointed his English Secretary, with a salary of two hundred dollars *per annum;* and thus, for the first time, the English language was officially recognized in New Amsterdam.

As the colony grew stronger, the Dutch scattered themselves more over the interior; established themselves more firmly at Manhattan; and in this way gave to the City of New York its first incorporation two hundred and fifteen years ago. The ferries received early attention from the corporation. No one was permitted to be a ferryman, without a license from the magistrates. The ferryman also was required to provide proper boats and servants, with houses, on both sides of the river, to accommodate passengers. All officials passed free of toll; or, to speak more in

* A "fathom" was estimated, at "as much as a man could reach with his arms outstretched." The savages, consequently, were shrewd enough (in trading with the whites) to choose their largest and tallest men for measuring sticks or standards.

accordance with the language of the present day, were *dead-heads*. But the ferryman was not compelled to cross the river in a tempest. Foot-passengers were charged three stivers each, except the Indians, who paid six, unless two or more went over together.* The annual salary of the Burgomasters was also, at this period, fixed at three hundred and fifty guilders (think of that, oh, City Fathers!), and the Shepens at two hundred and fifty. A corporate seal was now granted to the city, in which the principal object was a *beaver*, as was also the case, as has been seen, with the seal of the New Netherlands.

The first charter of New Netherland restricted, as we have seen, the commercial privileges of the *patroons;* but in the year 1640, they were extended to "all free colonists," and the stockholders in the Dutch Company. Nevertheless, the latter body adhered to onerous imports, for its own benefit, and required a duty of ten per cent. on all goods shipped to New Netherland, and five upon return cargoes, excepting peltry, which paid ten at Manhattan, before exported. The prohibition of manufactures within the province was now abolished, and the Company renewed its promise to send over "as many blacks as possible."

In 1643, the colonists easily obtained goods from the Company's warehouse, whither they were obliged to bring their fur purchases, before shipment to Holland. The furs were then generally sold at Amsterdam, under the supervision of the *patroon*, whose share, at first, was one-half, but was afterward reduced to one-sixth. Under this system, the price of a beaver's skin, which before 1642 had been six, now rose to ten "fathoms." It was, therefore, considered proper for the colonial authorities to regulate this traffic; and they, accordingly, fixed the price at nine "fathoms" of white *wampum*, at the same time forbidding all persons to "go into the bush to trade." Another proclamation also declared that no inhabitants of the colonies should presume to buy any goods from the residents. It would appear, however, that these ordinances could not be enforced; for a sloop, soon after, arriving with a cargo, the colonists purchased what they wanted. The commissary was then ordered to search the houses for concealed goods. But the old record naively says: "The Schout gossipped, without making a search." How closely do the custom-house officers of the present day follow in the steps of their ancestral colleagues!

In 1644, the ever-busy New Englanders—imagining that the beavers came from "a great lake in the northwest part" of their patent—began to covet a share in the fur trade on the Delaware. Accordingly, an expedition was dispatched from Boston to "sail up the Delaware, as high as they could go; and some of the company, under the conduct of Mr.

* On the 19th of March, 1658, the ferry was put up at auction, and leased to Hermanns Van Bossung, for three years, at three hundred guilders *per annum*. Compare this with the price recently paid by Mr. Stevens for a lease of the Hoboken Ferry.

William Aspinwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts, to pass by small skiffs or canoes up the river, so far as they could." Connected with this exploring party two centuries and a quarter ago, we accordingly notice a name of world-wide fame among us—that of one of our noblest and most honored merchants. The expedition failing, another bark "was sent out the same year from Boston, to trade at Delaware." Wintering in the bay, during the spring she went to the Maryland side, and in three weeks obtained five hundred beaver-skins—a "good parcel." But this second Boston trading voyage was ruined by the savages; for, as the bark was leaving, fifteen Indians came aboard, "as if they would trade again," and suddenly drawing their hatchets from under their coats, killed the captain, with three of the crew, and then rifled the vessel of all her goods.

This continued interference of New England adventurers with the Delaware trade, at length became very annoying to Kieft, as well as to Printz, the Swedish Governor of the Delaware colony. The Dutch at New Amsterdam, as the earliest explorers of South River, had seen their trading monopoly there invaded by the Swedes; but when the New Englanders made their appearance in pursuit of the same prize, the Swedes made common cause with the Dutch to repel the new intruders. The question of sovereignty was soon raised abroad by the arrival of two Swedish ships, the *Key of Calmar* and the *Flame*, sent home by Printz with large cargoes of tobacco and beaver-skins. Bad weather, and the war just begun between Denmark and Sweden, made these vessels run into the Port of Harlington in Friesland. There they were seized by the West India Company, which both claimed sovereignty over all the regions around the South River and exacted the import duties that their charter granted it. The Swedish Minister at the Hague protested against these exactions; and a long correspondence ensued, which resulted in the vessels being discharged the following summer upon the payment of the import duties.

During the year 1644, Kieft, headstrong and imprudent as usual, became involved in a war with the New England Indians. At this juncture of affairs, a ship arrived from Holland with a cargo of goods for Van Rensselaer's *patroonery*, and Kieft, the Dutch forces being in want of clothing, called upon the supercargo to furnish fifty pairs of shoes for the soldiers, offering full payment in silver, beavers, or *wampum*. The supercargo, however, zealously regarding his *patroon's* mercantile interests, refused to comply, whereupon the Governor ordered a levy, and obtained enough shoes to supply as many soldiers as afterward killed five hundred of the enemy. The Governor, much provoked, next commanded the vessel to be thoroughly searched, when a large lot of guns and ammunition, not in the manifest, were declared contraband, and the ship and cargo confiscated. Winthrop says that he had on board 4,000 weight of powder and seven hundred pieces to trade with the natives. For such acts

as these, Kieft seems to have been equally detested by Indians and Dutch, the former desiring his removal, and daily crying "Wouter! Wouter!" meaning Wouter Van Twiller, his immediate predecessor.

Meanwhile, the Indian war continued; the Dutch settlers were in danger of utter destruction; and the expenses of the soldiery could not be met. Neither could the West India Company send aid to its unfortunate colony, as that body had been made bankrupt by its military operations in Brazil. A bill of exchange, drawn by Kieft upon the Amsterdam Chamber, came back protested. The demands for public money were too pressing to await the slow proceedings of an Admiralty Court. Accordingly, soon after this, on the 29th of May, 1644, a privateer, the *La Garce*, Captain Blauvelt, having been commissioned by the Governor to cruize in the West Indies, returned to Manhattan with two rich Spanish prizes.

Director Kieft now proposed to replenish the Provisional Treasury by an excise on wine, beer, brandy, and beaver-skins. This was opposed by his official advisers, or the so-called "Eight Men," because they thought such an act would be oppressive, and the right of taxation belonged to sovereignty, and not to an inferior officer in New Netherland. An old account says that the Director was "very much offended," and sharply reprimanded the people's representatives, declaring, "I have more power here than the Company itself; therefore I may do and suffer in this country what I please; I am my own master." * * * Remaining immovable, however, he three days afterward arbitrarily ordered "that on each barrel of beer tapped, an excise duty of two guilders should be paid, one-half by the brewer, and one-half by the publican." But those burghers who did not retail it were to pay only one-half as much. On every quart of brandy and wine also, four stivers were to be paid, and on every beaver-skin one guilder. Besides the excise on the beer, the brewers were also required to make a return of the quantity they brewed; but upon their sternly refusing to pay the unjust tribute, judgment was obtained against them, and their beer "given as a prize to the soldiers."

About this time, the ship *Blue Cock* arrived from Curacoa with one hundred and thirty Dutch soldiers, quite a relief to the New Netherlanders against their savage foe.

Notwithstanding all the efforts to restrain illicit traffic, it still continued at Rensselaerswyck (Albany), where three or four thousand furs had been carried away by unlicensed traders. Van Rensselaer, now determined, "as the first and oldest" *patroon* on the river, that no one should "presume to abuse" his acquired rights, erected a small fort on Beelen Island. A claim of "staple right" was there set up, and Nicholas Koorn was appointed "watch-meester," to levy a toll of five guilders upon all vessels passing by, except those of the West India Company,

and to make them also lower their colors to the merchant *patroon's* authority. This annoyance soon manifested itself, for while the *Good Hope*, a little yacht, Captain Lookermans, was passing down from Fort Orange to Manhattan, "a gun without ball" was fired from the new fort, and Koorn cried out, "Strike thy colors!" "For whom?" demanded the captain of the vessel. "For the staple right of Rensselaer!" was the reply. "I strike for nobody but the Prince of Orange, or those by whom I am employed!" retorted the testy Dutchman, as he slowly steered on. Several shots followed. "The first," according to the old account, "went through the sail, and broke the ropes and the ladder; a second shot passed over us; and the third, fired by a savage, perforated our princely colors, about a foot above the head of Loockermans, who kept the colors constantly in his hand."

For this daring act, Koorn was forthwith called to answer before the Council at Fort Amsterdam, when he pleaded his *patroon's* authority. Van der Kuygens, the Schout-Fiscal (Sheriff), also protested against "the lawless transactions" of the *patroon's* watch-meester. Still the *patroon's* agent tried to justify his course, "inasmuch as this step had been taken to keep *the canker of free-traders* off his colonies. Nevertheless, he was fined, and forbidden to repeat his offence.

At length the pitiable condition of the New Netherland colony attracted the attention of the Dutch Government. Its originators, as before mentioned, had become nearly, if not entirely, bankrupt.

To use their own official words, "the long-looked-for profits thence" had never arrived, and they themselves had no means to relieve "the poor inhabitants who have left their *Fatherland;*" accordingly, the bankrupt Company urged the "States-General" for a subsidy of 1,000,000 of guilders to place the Dutch province in good, prosperous, and profitable order.

This body directed observations to be made into the affairs of New Netherland, and also into the propriety of restricting its internal trade to residents, with the policy of opening a free one between Brazil and Manhattan. Upon making this investigation, it was found that New Netherland, instead of becoming a source of commercial profit to the Company, had absolutely cost that body, from the year 1626 to 1644, "over 550,000 guilders, deducting returns received from there." Still, "the Company cannot decently or consistently abandon it." The Director's salary, the report continues, should be 3,000 guilders, and the whole civil and military establishment of New Netherland 20,000 guilders. As many African negroes, it thought, should be brought from Brazil as the *patroons*, farmers, and settlers "would be willing to pay for at a fair price." It would thus appear that our Dutch forefathers had something to do with the slave trade, as well as the Southern colonies. Free grants of land should be offered to all emigrants on Manhattan Island; a trade allowed to Brazil

and the fisheries; the manufacture and exportation of salt should be encouraged, and the duties of the revenue officers "be sharply attended to." Such was the business condition of New Netherland in the year 1645. The five previous years of Indian wars had hardly known five months of peace and prosperity. Kieft, perceiving his former errors, now concluded a treaty of amity with the Indians, August 30, 1645. In two years, not less than 1,600 savages had been killed at Manhattan and its neighborhood, and scarcely one hundred could be found besides traders.

The insufficient condition of the fort as a place of defense became the subject of serious consideration after this war, and the authorities in Holland, listening to the importunities of the colonists, gave directions for its improvement, requiring, however, that the people should contribute, to some extent, towards the labor and expense involved. In 1647, the subject was discussed in the Council of the Director-General, and a resolution was passed that the fort should be repaired with stone laid in mortar, "by which means alone," it was stated, "a lasting work could be made," inasmuch as the earth to be procured in the neighborhood was entirely unfit to make it stable with sods, unless it were annually renewed, nearly at the same expense; and as this project required a considerable disbursement for labor in carrying the stone, etc., it was found expedient to consult the inhabitants, to learn the extent to which assistance would be afforded by them. In communicating their resolve to the people, the authorities referred to "this glorious work, which must increase the respect for the Government, as well as afford a safe retreat to the inhabitants in case of danger." The suggestion was, that every male inhabitant, between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, should devote, annually, twelve days' labor, or, in lieu thereof, contribute for each day two guilders (eighty cents). But the project was found too expensive for the means at hand, and the completion of the work with stone was abandoned for the time, the work being repaired with earth, as before. Nor does it appear that it was, as yet, protected by an inclosure from the inroads of the vagrant cattle, as the Director is found, from time to time, expostulating with the city authorities against permitting swine, goats, and other animals, to run at large in the town, from which great destruction to the works of the fortress ensued.*

Soon after the peace, in 1647, Kieft, having been recalled, embarked for Holland, carrying with him specimens of New Netherland minerals

* This matter came to be considered of so great importance, that, in 1656, Governor Stuyvesant again communicated with the Holland authorities respecting the improvement of the fort, and received from them a favorable response, stating that they had no objection to have the fort surrounded with a stone-wall, and were willing, in the ensuing spring, to send "a few good masons and carpenters to assist in the work," enjoining the Governor, in the meanwhile, to have the necessary materials prepared and in readiness when the mechanics should arrive.— *Valentine's Manual.*

(gathered by the Raritan Indians in the Neversink Hills), and a fortune, which his enemies estimated at 400,000 guilders. Dominie Bogardus and Van der Kuygens, late Fiscal, were fellow-passengers in the richly-laden vessel. By mistake, the ship was navigated into the English Channel; was wrecked upon the rugged coast of Wales, and went to pieces. Kieft, with eighty other persons, including Bogardus and the Fiscal, were lost; only twenty were saved. Melyn, the *patroon* of Staten Island, floating on his back, landed on a sand-bank, and thence reached the main-land in safety.

On the 11th of May, 1647, Governor Stuyvesant, as "redresser-general" of all the colonial abuses, arrived at Manhattan, to enter upon an administration which was to last until the end of the Dutch power over New Netherland. Well might the new Governor write home that he "found the colony in a low condition." Disorder and discontent were everywhere apparent; the public revenue was in arrears, and smuggling had nearly ruined legitimate trade. Such were the auspices—sufficiently gloomy—under which the last of the Dutch Governors entered upon his administration. Far from despairing, however, the sturdy Dutchman put his shoulder at once to the wheel. Publicans were restrained from selling liquor before two o'clock on Sundays, "when there is no preaching," and after nine in the evening; to the savages, none was to be sold.* The revenue, greatly defrauded by smuggling furs into New England and Virginia, for shipment to England, was now to be guarded by stringent laws. The introduction of foreign merchandise by vessels running past Fort Amsterdam during the night, was also to be stopped; all vessels were obliged to anchor under the guns of the fort, near the present Battery. For the purpose of replenishing the treasury, an excise duty was now, for the first time, levied on wines and liquors; the export duties on peltry also increased; and the unpaid tenths from the impoverished farmers were called in, although a year's grace was allowed for payment, in consequence of the losses by the Indian wars; and, in addition to all this, two of the Company's yachts, still further to increase the revenue, were sent on a cruise to the West Indies, to capture, if possible, some of the richly-laden Spanish vessels returning to Spain.

Stuyvesant also, seems to have been the first Governor who took pride in improving the town itself. He found the infant city very unattractive—fences straggling, cattle running around loose, the public ways crooked—many of them encroaching on the lines of the street, and half the houses in a "tumble-down" condition. All these evils he at once set about to remedy; and one of his earliest acts was to appoint the first "Surveyors of Buildings," whose duties were to regulate the erection of new houses in New Amsterdam.

* It thus appears that the Dutch themselves first introduced the excise law; they should not, therefore, complain so bitterly of the one now (1868) in operation!

The Dutch Company "now resolved to open to private persons the trade which it had exclusively carried on with New Netherland, the Virginia, the Swedish, English, and French colonies, or other places thereabout;" and the new Director and Council were ordered to be vigilant in enforcing all colonial custom-house regulations. All cargoes to New Netherland were to be examined, on arrival, by the custom-house officers, and all who were homeward-bound were to give bonds for the payment of duties in Holland. Nor was it long before Stuyvesant had an opportunity of showing his zeal. The *St. Benicio*, an Amsterdam ship, was found trading at New Haven, without the license of the West India Company; but the owners of the cargo applied for permission to trade at Manhattan, upon the payment of the proper duties. This permit obtained, Stuyvesant learned that the ship was about to sail directly to Virginia, without any manifest or duties paid. The case having thus assumed an open violation of the colonial revenue laws, the Governor embarked a company of soldiers, who, sailing up the sound, captured the smuggler in New Haven harbor. This bold act naturally produced a great sensation; and Eaton, the Governor of the New Haven Colony, protested against Stuyvesant, as a disturber of the peace. In reply, Stuyvesant claimed all the region from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod, as a part of New Netherland, with the right to levy duty upon all Dutch vessels trading at New Haven. A sharp correspondence ensued between the "State Right" parties, which resulted in the Dutch Governor issuing a proclamation, which declared: "If any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor—yea, to the lowest prisoner included, run away from New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance." The Dutch colonists, however, objected to this unwise measure, as tending to change their province into a refuge for vagabonds from the neighboring English settlements, and the obnoxious proclamation was thereupon revoked.

About this period, 1648, it became necessary to regulate the taverns, as almost one-fourth part of the town of New Amsterdam had beome houses for the sale of brandy, tobacco, or beer. No new taverns, it was ordained, should be licensed, except by unanimous consent of the Director and his Council; and those established might continue four years longer, if their owners would abstain from selling to the savages, report all brawls, and occupy decent houses—"to adorn the town of New Amsterdam." Notwithstanding, however, all these precautions, the Indians were daily seen "running about drunk through the Manhattans." New York, now the metropolitan city, witnesses every day and night crowds of such drunken savages in her streets; and it would almost seem that our wise legislators have not wisdom or strength enough to frame laws to subdue or prevent this public evil of all evils. At last, at New Amsterdam, in addition to the former penalties, offenders against the temper-

ance laws were now "to be arbitrarily punished, without any dissimulation."

In the year 1648, no person was allowed to carry on business, except he was a permanent resident, and had taken the oath of allegiance, was worth from two thousand to three thousand guilders, at least, and intended to "keep fire and light in the province." This was an early expression of permanent residence in the Dutch province. Old residents, however, not possessing the full trading qualifications, were allowed the same privilege, provided they remained in the province, and used only the weights and measures of "Old Amsterdam," and "to which we owe our name." Scotch merchants and peddlers were not forgotten in these business arrangements, for it was also ordained that "all Scotch merchants and small dealers, who come over from their own country with the intention of trading here," should "not be permitted to carry on any trade in the land" until they had resided here three years. They were also required to build a "decent, habitable tenement" one year after their arrival. Every Monday was to be a market-day, and, in imitation of *fatherland*, an annual "keemis," or fair, for ten days, was established, commencing on Monday after St. Bartholomew's Day, at which all persons could sell goods from their tents. The trade on the North and the South Rivers was reserved for citizens having the requisite qualifications. It was declared, however, that the East River should be "free and open to any one, no matter to what nation he may belong." All vessels under fifty tons were to anchor between the Capsey "Hoeck" (which divided the East and North rivers) and the "hand," or guide-board, near the present Battery. No freight was to be landed, nor any boats to leave the vessels from sunset to sunrise. These regulations were strictly enforced, and the high customs duties exacted from the colonists amounted to almost thirty per cent., "besides waste." "The avidity of the Director to confiscate," says an old account, "was a vulture, destroying the property of New Netherland, diverting its trade, and making the people discontented." This "bad report" spread among the English, north and south, and even reached the West India and Caribee Islands. Boston traders declared that more than twenty-five vessels would every year reach Manhattan from those Islands, "if the owners were not fearful of confiscation." Not a ship now dared come from these places. Difficulties constantly arising between the authorities of the *fatherland* and New Netherland, the "Presiding Chamber" now plainly perceived that they must make concessions, or lose all control over their distant colony. Accordingly, the "Commonalty of Manhattan" was informed that the Amsterdam Directors had determined to abolish the export duty on tobacco, to reduce the price of tobacco, and to allow the colonists to purchase negroes from Africa—all this being designed to show their "good intentions." They also informed Governor Stuyvesant of their assent to

a "burgher government" in Manhattan, which should approach as nearly as possible to the custom of "the metropolis of Holland." At the time that the colonists had obtained this concession (1652) of the long-desired burgher government, New Amsterdam numbered a population of seven hundred or eight hundred souls.

At last, a naval war, long brewing, broke out between England and the United Provinces, and, without warning, Dutch ships were arrested in English ports, and the crews impressed. Martin Harpertsen Tromp commanded the Dutch fleet. His name has no prefix of "Van," as many writers insist. Bancroft and Broadhead are among the few who have not adopted the common error. The Dutch Admiral was no more "Van Tromp" than the English was "Van Blake," or our brave American "Van Farragut." Tromp, in a few days, met the British fleet, under Admiral Blake, in Dover Straits, and a bloody but indecisive fight followed. Brilliant naval engagements ensued, in which Tromp and De Ruyter, with Blake and Ayscue, immortalized themselves. But the first year of hostilities closing with a victory, Blake sought refuge in the Thames, when the Dutch commander placed a broom at his masthead—an emblem or token that he had swept the British Channel free from British ships. These hostilities between Holland and England encouraged pirates and robbers to infest the shores of the East River, and perpetrate excesses on Long Island and the neighborhood of New Amsterdam. Several yachts were immediately commissioned to act against the pirates. A reward of one hundred thalers was offered for each of the outlaws, and a proclamation issued prohibiting all persons from harboring them, under the penalty of banishment and the confiscation of their goods. Forces had even been collected to act against New Netherland, but the joyful intelligence of peace sent them to dislodge the French from the coast of Maine; and thus, for ten years longer, the coveted Dutch-American province continued under the sway of Holland. The peace was published "in the ringing of bell" from the City Hall, and the 12th of August, 1654, appointed, piously, by Stuyvesant, as a day of general thanksgiving.

During the same month, 1654, Le Moyne, a Jesuit father and missionary to the Indians, immortalized his name by a discovery which afterward formed one of the largest sources of wealth in our State. Reaching the entrance of a small lake, filled with salmon-trout and other fish, he tasted the water of a spring, which his Indian guides were afraid to drink, saying that there was a demon in them which rendered it offensive. But the Jesuit had discovered "a fountain of salt-water," from which he actually made salt as natural as that of the sea. Taking a sample, he descended the Oneida, passed over Ontario and the St. Lawrence, and safely reached Quebec with the intelligence of his wonderful discovery. To the State of New York it has since been more valuable than a mine of silver or gold.

During the year 1654, the Swedish and the Casimir colonists on the Delaware had taken the Dutch fort there; soon after, Stuyvesant had an opportunity of retaking the *Golden Shark*, a Swedish ship, bound to South River, which, by mistake, entered Sandy Hook, and anchored behind Staten Island. His error discovered, the captain sent a boat to Manhattan for a pilot, when the Governor ordered the crew to the guard-house, and dispatched soldiers to seize the vessel. The *Shark's* cargo was removed to the Company's magazine, until a reciprocal restitution should have been made. The Swedish agent sent a long protest to Governor Stuyvesant, complaining of his conduct.

In the year 1656, there were in New Amsterdam one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand souls. A proclamation now forbid the removal of any crops in the town or colony, until the Company's tithes had been paid. The authorities of Rensselaerswyck refusing to publish this notice, the tapsters were sent down to New Amsterdam, pleading that they acted under the orders of their feudal officers. This defense was overruled, and one fined two hundred pounds, and another eight hundred guilders.

The cities of Holland, for a long time, had enjoyed certain municipal privileges, called "great" and "small" burgher rights. In Amsterdam, all who paid five hundred guilders were enrolled "great burghers," and they monopolized all the offices, and were also exempt from attainder and confiscation of goods. The "small burghers" paid fifty guilders for the honors, and had the freedom of trade only. This burghership became hereditary in Holland, and could pass by marriage, and be acquired by females as well as by males. Foreigners, after a year's probation, could also become burghers; and the burghers were generally the merchants and tradesmen. The various trades and professions formed separate associations, or "*guilds*," and their members were bound to assist each other in distress or danger. In *fatherland*, each guild generally inhabited a separate quarter of the town, was organized as a military company, and fought under its own standard, having its own "dekken," or dean.

In the year 1657, "in conformity to the laudable custom of the City of Amsterdam in Europe," this great burgher right was introduced into New Amsterdam. This was an absurd imitation of an invidious policy, and the mother city herself was soon obliged to abandon it, notwithstanding Governor Stuyvesant attempted to establish in New Amsterdam this most offensive of all distinctions—an aristocracy founded on a class, or mere wealth.

In Mr Paulding's "Affairs and Men of New Amsterdam in the Time of Governor Peter Stuyvesant," we find a list of the recorded Great

Citizenship, in the year 1657. As a rare matter of the olden time, it is here given entire :

Joh. La Montagnie, Junior, Jan Gillesen Van Burggh, Hendrick Kip, De Heer General Stuyvesant, Dominie Megapolensis, Jacob Gerritsen Strycker, Jan Virge, The wife of Cornelis Van Teinhoven, Hendrick Van Dyck, Hendrick Kip, Junior, Capt. Martin Crigier, Carel Van Burggh, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, Laurisen Cornelisen Van Wel, Johannes Pietersen Van Burggh, Cornelis Steenwyck, Wilb. Bogardus, Daniel Litschoe, Pieter Van Couwenhoven.

These twenty names composed the aristocracy of New York two hundred and nine years ago, when umbrellas and carriages were unknown. In our Fifth-Avenue-day of stocks, petroleum, and "shoddy," happy is the man who can possibly trace his pedigree to this pure, unadulterated Dutch-blooded stock!

We have also before us the names of the "small" citizenship, which number two hundred and sixteen. In a few short years it was found that this division of the citizens into two classes produced great inconvenience, in consequence of the very small number of great burghers who were eligible to office. It now became necessary for the Government to change this unpopular order. The heavy fee to obtain it frightened most foreigners away, so that it was purchased but once during a period of sixteen years. In the year 1668, the difference between "great" and "small" burghers was abolished, when every burgher became legally entitled to all burgher privileges.

During the year 1659, it was discovered that the Dutch colony had as yet produced no returns, and was already seven thousand guilders in arrears. It was therefore determined that, to prevent further loss, such colonists only as had left Holland before December, 1658, should be supplied with provisions. Goods were to be sold only for cash, and exemptions from tithes and taxes were to cease several years before the original stipulated period, and merchandise thereafter was to be consigned to the City of Amsterdam exclusively. The colonists remonstrated against this new restriction of trade, which had the appearance of gross slavery, and of fettering the free prospects of a worthy people. This remonstrance was well-timed, and the City Council consented that all the traders on the South River might export all goods, except peltry, to any place they wished.

In the year 1660, a second survey and map of New Amsterdam was made by Jacques Cortelyou, and the city was found to contain three hundred and fifty houses. It was sent to the Amsterdam Chamber, in case it should be thought "good to make it more public by having it engraved." This early map has probably been lost.

The restoration of Charles the Second, in 1661, did not produce in England more friendly feelings towards the Dutch; and the two nations

now became commercial rivals. The Act of Navigation had already closed the ports of New England, Virginia, and Maryland, against Holland and its Colony of New Netherland. Such at that time was the narrow spirit of British statesmen; and many Independents and Dissenters desired to seek new homes, where they would be alike free from monarchy, prelacy, and British rule.

Nor were these considerations overlooked in Holland. The West India Company now determined to invite emigration to New Netherland by larger inducements; accordingly, a new charter was drawn up, which granted to "all such people as shall be disposed to take up their abode in those parts," fifteen leagues of land along the sea-coast, "and as far in depth in the continent as any plantation hath, or may be, settled in New Netherland." Emigrants were also to have "high, middle, and low jurisdiction," "freedom from head-money" for twenty years, property in mines, freedom for ten years from taxes, the right to use their own ships, and freedom in the fishing trade. "Therefore," added the Company, "if any of the English, good Christians, who may be assured of the advantage to mankind of plantations in these latitudes to others more southerly, and shall rationally be disposed to transport themselves to the said place, under the conduct of the United Provinces, they shall have full liberty to live in the fear of the Lord, upon the aforesaid good conditions, and shall be likewise courteously used." A proper act, under seal of the Company, was issued at the Hague, which granted to "all Christian people of tender conscience, in England or elsewhere oppressed, full liberty to erect a colony in the West Indies, between New England and Virginia, in America, now within the jurisdiction of Peter Stuyvesant, the States-General Governor for the West India Company." How many "Christian people of tender conscience" availed themselves of these advantageous offers, does not appear; but the metropolis prospered. A better currency was now found to be indispensable, and the burgomasters wrote to Holland for authority to establish a mint for the coinage of silver, and to constitute *wampum* (needed for trade with the savages) an article of sale. But the Amsterdam Directors refused to grant this improvement of the colonial currency.

A number of breweries, brick-kilns, and other manufactories, carried on a successful business; and the potteries on Long Island, some persons esteemed equal to those of Delft. Dirck De Wolf having obtained from the Amsterdam Chamber, in 1661, the exclusive privilege of making salt for seven years in New Netherland, began its manufacture upon Coney Island; but the Gravesend settlers, who claimed the spot, arrested the enterprise; and this, too, notwithstanding Governor Stuyvesant sent a military guard to protect him.

In the year 1664, the population of New Netherland had increased to "full ten thousand," and New Amsterdam contained one thousand five

hundred, and wore an appearance of great prosperity. English jealousy evidently increased with the augmenting commerce of the Dutch. James, Duke of York, was the King's brother, and also the Governor of the African Company, and he denounced the Dutch West India Company, which had endeavored to secure the territory on the Gold Coast from English speculators and intruders. England now resolved to march a step farther, and, at one blow, to rob Holland of her American province. The King granted a sealed patent to the Duke of York for a large territory in America, including Long Island, and all lands and rivers from the west side of the Connecticut to the east side of the Delaware Bay. This sweeping grant embraced the whole of New Netherland.

The Duke of York, that he might lose no time in securing his patent, dispatched Captain Scott, with one hundred and fifty followers, to visit the Island of Manhattan, the value of which was now estimated at three thousand pounds. On the 11th of January, 1664, the valorous Scott made his appearance at "Breuclen" Ferry Landing, and, with a great flourish of trumpets, demanded submission to the English flag. Governor Stuyvesant, dispatching his Secretary, politely asked Captain Scott, "Will you come across the river?" and the reply was, "No; let Stuyvesant come over with one hundred soldiers; I will wait for him here!" "What for?" demanded the Secretary. "I would run him through the body!" was the Captain's courteous answer. "That would not be a friendly act," replied the Governor's deputy. Thus they parted; Scott retiring to Michout (Flatbush) with his forces, with drums beating and colors flying, while the people "looked on with wonder, not knowing what it meant." Scott told them that they must abandon their allegiance to the Dutch, and promised to confer with Governor Stuyvesant. But when he reached the river, on his way to New Amsterdam for this purpose, he declined crossing it. Still he felt very brave, *threatening* to go over, proclaim the English King at the Manhattans, and "rip the guts, and cut the feet from under any man who says, 'This is not the King's land.'" This was, certainly, very bloodthirsty; but the good people of Manhattan all escaped with whole feet and bowels. The valiant Captain then marched to New Utrecht; ordered the only gun of which the block-house boasted to be fired in the King's honor; and continued his triumphant march to Amersfort, for another bloodless victory.

Governor Stuyvesant now ordered a new commission to confer with Captain Scott, at Jamaica, and Cornelis Steenwyck*—one of the fathers of New Amsterdam, residing on his farm at Harlem—was one of the commission. It was here agreed that the English captain should hereafter desist from disturbing the Dutch towns. The latter, however,

* There is a portrait of Mr. Steenwyck in the collection of the N. Y. His. Soc.

insisted that the basis of future negotiations should recognize Long Island as belonging to Great Britain. He also hinted that the Duke of York intended to reduce, in time, the whole province of New Netherland—a declaration which was to prove true sooner than the Dutch Governor anticipated.

In September of the same year (1664), Colonel Nicholls anchored before New Amsterdam with a fleet and soldiers. His imperious message to Governor Stuyvesant, was: "I shall come with ships and soldiers, raise the white flag of peace at the fort, and then something may be considered." The Dutch colony was entirely unprepared for such a warlike visit, and capitulated at eight o'clock on the morning of September 8th, 1664. Stuyvesant, at the head of the garrison, marched out of the fort with the honors of war, pursuant to the terms of the surrender. His soldiers were immediately led down the "*Bever's Paatje*," or Beaver Lane, to the shore of the North River, where they embarked for Holland. An English "corporal's guard" immediately entered and took possession of the fort, over which the English flag was at once hoisted. Its name, Fort Amsterdam, was then changed to "Fort James," and New Amsterdam was henceforth known as "New York." This was a violent and treacherous seizure of territory at a time of profound peace—a breach of private justice and public faith; and by it, a great State had imposed on it a name which is unknown in history, save as it is connected with bigotry and tyranny, and which has ever been an enemy of political and religious liberty.*

Before following further the course of events, a rapid retrospect of the commercial prosperity of New Netherland seems desirable. At the period when Governor Stuyvesant's administration was so suddenly terminated by the arrival of the Duke of York's forces, the population of New Netherland was established at "full ten thousand." When New Amsterdam was first surveyed, in 1656, it contained one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand souls, which increased to fifteen hund-

* As the surrender of Fort Amsterdam involved the loss of the entire Dutch possessions in New Netherland, the conduct of Governor Stuyvesant, in not maintaining its defense, was severely criticised by his superiors in Holland. In his justification, he explained that the fort was encompassed only by a slight wall, two to three feet in thickness, backed by coarse gravel, not above eight, nine, and ten feet high, in some places; in others, higher, according to the rise and fall of the ground. It was for the most part crowded all around with buildings, and better adapted for a citadel than for defense against an open enemy. The houses were, in many places, higher than the walls and bastions, and rendered those wholly exposed. Most of the houses had cellars not eight rods distant from the wall of the fort; in some places, not two or three feet distant; and at one point scarce a rod from the wall; so that whoever should be master of the city, could readily approach with scaling-ladders from the adjacent houses, and mount the walls, which had neither a wet nor a dry ditch.—*Valentine's Manual.*

red in 1664. Not quite two hundred and fifty of these were male adults; and the rest, women, and children below eighteen years of age. The same city now numbers about a million of people! New York, on an average, has about doubled its population every twenty-three years. Be it remembered that trade and commerce became the great stimulus of population, and their regulation of the utmost importance. The damages incurred by the West India Company during 1645–6, in Brazil, and estimated at one hundred tons of gold, rendered some measures necessary to retrieve its condition. Trade with that country was therefore opened in the year 1648 to the New Netherlanders, who were permitted to send thither their produce, and return with African slaves, whose subsequent exportation from the Dutch Province was forbidden. Four years afterward, the province obtained the privilege of trading to Africa for slaves and other articles. In the same year, the monopoly of the carrying trade between Holland and this country (before in the hands of the Amsterdam Chamber) was abolished; "for the first time," private vessels were now entered at Amsterdam; and in 1659 the privilege of exporting produce to France, Spain, Italy, and the Caribbean Islands, was obtained. Thus, the markets of the world, except those of the East, were opened to New Netherland ships. From this regulation, however, furs alone were an exception, as these were to be sent exclusively to Amsterdam.

The duties were fixed by the tariff of 1648, at ten per cent. on imported, and fifteen upon exported goods; but some difference existed in favor of English colonial buttons, causing them first to be sent to New England, and thence imported into New Netherland at a low rate. To obviate this, in 1651 the duties on such goods were raised to sixteen per cent., tobacco excepted, its eight per cent. tax being taken off. In the year 1655, the duties on imports again were reduced to ten per cent., and in 1659, owing to the demand for lead to be used in window-frames, this article was placed on the free-list. As we have noticed, the industry of the Dutch colonists was early manifested in ship-building. At the close of Stuyvesant's administration, a number of distilleries, breweries, and potasheries, were in operation, with several manufactories of tiles, bricks, and earthenware. An attempt was also made, in 1657, to introduce the silk culture; two years after, mulberry-trees were exported to Curacoa; and, as before stated, the making of salt was attempted; but the inhabitants of Gravesend, claiming Coney Island under their patent, destroyed the houses and improvements, burnt the fences, and threatened to throw the workmen into the flames.

Although *wampum* or "*zeawan*" had become almost the exclusive currency of New Netherlands (1664), still, beaver remained the standard of value. During the years 1651–2, Director Stuyvesant tried to introduce a specie currency, and applied to Holland for twenty-five thousand guilders

in Dutch shillings and four-penny pieces, but the Directors there disapproved of his project. The people were thus entirely dependent on *wampum*, as we are now upon "greenbacks," and the value of wages, property, and every commodity, was, in consequence, seriously disturbed. So it is in this day, and ever will be, with an irredeemable currency, whether of clam-shells, thin paper, or anything else, not equal to specie. At first *wampum* passed at the rate of four black beads for one stiver; next, it was lowered to six, and in 1657 to eight, and then ordered to be considered a tender for gold and silver. To a similar level our wiseacre financiers would now reduce our paper-money. But Stuyvesant wisely objected, as it would bring the value of property to naught. In the year 1659, the white *wampum* was next reduced from twelve to sixteen, and the black from six to eight for a stiver. What was the result? The holder was obliged to give more *wampum* for any article he purchased of the trader, who, in return, allowed the natives a large quantity of it for his beavers and skins; and, to use the plain record of the day, "little or no benefit accrued." Nominally, prices advanced, when beavers which had sold for twelve and fourteen (guilders) rose to twenty-two and twenty-four, bread from fourteen to twenty-two stivers—eight-pound loafs—beef nine to ten stivers per pound, pork fifteen to twenty stivers, shoes from three and a half guilders to twelve a pair, and wrought-iron from eighteen to twenty stivers the pound. Beavers and specie remained all the while of equal value; but the difference between these and *wampum* was fifty per cent. The effect on wages was almost ruinous. An old record says: "The poor farmer, laborer, and public officer, being paid in *zeawan*, are almost reduced to the necessity of living on alms."

Those in the employ of the Dutch Company asked that their salaries might be paid in beavers, but this was refused; as well might public officers in our day desire to receive gold and silver for their services. This depreciation of the currency, and the consequent disturbance of prices, caused much popular clamor, and various expedients were adopted to amend the unfortunate state of things. The Directors of New Netherland would have the colonists consider *wampum* as "bullion," but would only receive beavers in payment of duties and taxes. We adopt something of the same theory in our Custom-House payments. Governor Stuyvesant raised the value of specie in the country twenty to twenty-five per cent. "*to prevent its exportation*," and our Secretary of the Treasury has been striving, after a fashion, to imitate the now two-hundred-year time-honored financial example of the long-buried old Dutch Governor. Finally, however, the price of beaver in 1663 fell from eight guilders (specie) to four and a half, white *wampum* from sixteen to eight, black from eight to four for a stiver. What a fall! This was the state of the public finances when the English came in possession of New Netherland. Some persons are met with at the present time who fear a similar

financial crash sooner or later in our enlightened land with its hundreds of millions in paper-money operations and promises.

The public revenue in New Netherland embraced two descriptions, provincial and municipal: the former consisting of the export duty on furs, the impost on European goods, with the tenths of agricultural produce, butter, cheese, etc.; the latter of an excise duty on liquors and slaughtered cattle. In the year 1655, the duty on exported furs is stated at twenty-two thousand guilders, or eight thousand dollars. The expenses of the Government became very large, especially from the Indian wars, which also cut off the supplies of furs; so that by the close of Stuyvesant's administration, there was a deficit of fifty thousand florins, or twenty thousand dollars. The municipal revenue arising from the liquor excise was of two kinds, the tapsters and the burghers—the first paying a duty of four florins a ton on home-brewed, and six on foreign beer; eight florins a hogshead on French; and four on Spanish wine, brandy, or other spirits. These rates were doubled in 1662. The income of New Amsterdam from these sources was estimated at twenty-five thousand guilders. The Company in Holland had now expended twelve tons of gold in the settlement of New Netherland over all the public receipts; and now (1664), when some return was expected for this large outlay, foreigners seized and possessed themselves of all the benefits resulting from such expenditures.

We again resume the thread of our narrative. The war which broke out in 1672 between the English and the Dutch, and which was chiefly carried on by the navies of the two powers, occasioned apprehensions for the safety of the Province of New York; and Governor Lovelace the successor of Nicholls, the first English Governor, made preparations for a demonstration of that character on the part of the Dutch. Nor were his fears unfounded, although, some months elapsing without any appearance of the enemy, he allowed himself to fall into a fatal sense of security, and accordingly disbanded the levies, while he himself departed on a visit to the Eastern colonies, leaving the fort in charge of Captain John Manning. The Dutch, however, were not asleep; nor had they relinquished their design. Determined to regain New Amsterdam, at all hazards, they fitted out a fleet of five ships, commanded by Admirals Benckes and Evertsen, with Captains Colve, Boes, and Van Zye. On the 29th of July, 1673, they appeared off Sandy Hook; and quietly sailing up the bay, and anchoring before Staten Island, soon appeared opposite the Battery. The fleet then opened a heavy cannonade upon the city, at the same time that Captain Colve, landing with six hundred men, drew up in order of battle on the Commons, ready to march into the city. At a given signal the men marched down Broadway, whereupon Captain Manning surrendered the fort, on condition that its garrison should march out with all the honors of war. This condition having been granted, the Dutch troops again possessed the fort and city. New York received the name

of New Orange, and the fort itself the name of Fort William Hendrick. Governor Lovelace, who, meanwhile, had hastened back from his pleasure tour, was allowed to return with the Dutch Admiral only; however, to receive from the English Government a severe reprimand for cowardice and treachery, and to learn that his estates had been confiscated to the Duke of York.

Captain Colve, now in command of the Province of New Netherland, received a commission from Benckes and Evertsen to govern the new territory. His rule, though brief, was energetic. He at once took measures to improve the defenses of the fort; and in October, 1673, we find it stated in one of his orders, that the fortifications had then, at great expense and labor to the citizens and inhabitants, been brought "to perfection." Anthony De Milt was appointed Schout, with three burgomasters and five schepens. The entire city assumed the appearance of a military post, the Commons (the present park) becoming the parade-ground. A *wall* or palisade was placed around it, running from Trinity Church along *Wall street*—hence its name—and block-houses protected the settlement on every side. Every day the Schout reviewed the military, before the "Stadt Huys," at the head of Coenties Slip. At six in the evening he received the city keys, and with a guard of six men locked the public gates, and stationed the sentinels. He unlocked the gates at sunrise. The city at this period numbered three hundred and twenty-two houses.

But the second administration of the Dutch was destined to be of short duration. On the 9th of February, 1674, the treaty of peace between England and the States-General was signed at Westminister; and the Dutch, having discovered and possessed the beautiful country of New Netherlands for almost sixty years, were now, once and forever, dispossessed of it. On that day the old fort again became "Fort James," having surrendered to Sir Edmund Andrews, who had been appointed Governor by the Duke of York.

Before closing this section, and bidding farewell entirely to New York under the Dutch rule, it seems fitting to glance somewhat minutely at the social manners and customs of our early Dutch ancestors.

The Dutch of New Amsterdam were distinguished for their good nature, love of home, and cordial hospitality. Fast young men, late hours, and fashionable dissipation were unknown. There was, nevertheless, plenty of opportunity for healthful recreation. Holidays were abundant, each family having some of its own, such as birthdays, christenings, and marriage anniversaries. Each season, too, introduced its own peculiar and social festivals—the "Quilting," "Apple-Raising," and "Husking Bees." The work on such occasions was soon finished, after which the guests sat down to a supper, well supplied with chocolate and waffles—the evening terminating with a merry dance. Dancing was a

favorite amusement. The slaves danced to the music of their rude instruments, in the markets; while the maidens and youths practiced the same amusement at their social parties, and around the annual May-Pole, on the "Bowling Green."

Besides such holidays, five public or national festivals were observed. These were, *Kersteydt*, or Christmas; *Nieuw Jar*, or New Year; *Paas*, or Passover; *Pinkter*, Whitsuntide; and *Santa Claus*, St. Nicholas, or Cris-Kinkle Day. The morn of the Nativity was hailed with universal salutations of a "Merry Christmas"—a good old Knickerbocker custom which has descended unimpaired to us. Next, in the day's programme, came "Turkey Shooting"—the young men repairing either to the "Beekman Swamp," or on the Common (Park), for this amusement. Each man payed a few stivers* for a "chance," when the best shot obtained the prize. The day was also commemorated, as it is at the present day, by family dinners, and closed with domestic gayety and cheerfulness.

New-Year's Day was devoted to the universal interchange of visits. Every door in New Amsterdam was thrown wide open, and a warm welcome extended to the stranger as well as the friend. It was considered a breach of established etiquette to omit any acquaintance in these annual calls, by which old friendships were renewed, family differences settled, and broken or neglected intimacies restored. This is another of the excellent customs of the olden times that still continues among New Yorkers; and its origin, like many others, is thus traced exclusively to the earliest Hollanders.

Paas, or Easter, was a famous festival among the Dutch, but is now almost forgotten, except by the children, who still take considerable interest in coloring eggs in honor of the day. The eggs were found *then* on every table. This old festival, however, is rapidly passing away, and like *Pinkter* will soon be forgotten.

Santa Claus, however, was *the* day of all others with the little Dutch folk, for it was sacred to St. Nicholas—the tutelar divinity of New Amsterdam, who had presided at the figure-head of the first emigrant ship that reached her shores. The first church erected within her fort was also named after St. Nicholas. He was, to the imagination of the little people, a jolly, rosy-cheeked, little old man, with a slouched hat, large Flemish nose, and a very long pipe. His sleigh, loaded with all sorts of Christmas gifts, was drawn by swift reindeer; and, as he drove rapidly over the roofs of the houses, he would pause at the chimneys, to leave presents in the stockings of the good children; if *bad*, they might expect nothing but a switch or leather-strap. In this way the young Knickerbockers became models of good behavior and propriety. They used to sing a suitable hymn on the occasion, one verse of which is here

* A stiver was equal to nearly two cents in U. S. money. Forty of them made a guilder.

given, for the benefit of those readers who may wish to know how it sounded in Dutch:

"Sint Nicholaas, myn goden vriend,
Ik heb u altyd wel gediend;
Als gy my nu wot wilt geben,
Fal ik dienen als myn leven."

TRANSLATION.

"Saint Nicholas, my dear, good friend,
To serve you ever was my end;
If you me now something will give,
Serve you, I will, as long as I live."

"Dinner parties" in these primitive days were unknown; but this seeming lack of social intercourse was more than made up by the well-known and numerous tea parties. To "take tea out" was a Dutch institution, and one of great importance. The matrons arrayed in their best petticoats and linsey jackets, "home spun" by their own wheels, would proceed on the intended afternoon visit. They wore capacious pockets, with scissors, pin-cushion, and keys hanging from their girdle, outside their dress; and, reaching the neighbor's house, the visitors industriously used knitting-needles and tongues at the same time. Now, the village gossip was talked over, neighbors' affairs settled, and the stockings finished by tea-time, when the important meal appeared on the table precisely at six o'clock. This was always the occasion for the display of the family plate, with the Lilliputian cups, of rare old family china, out of which the guests sipped the fragrant herb. A large lump of loaf-sugar invariably accompanied each cup, on a little plate, and the delightful beverage was sweetened by an occasional nibble, amid the more solid articles of waffles and Dutch dough-nuts. The pleasant visit finished, the visitors, donning cloaks and hoods—as bonnets were unknown—proceeded homeward in time for milking and other necessary household duties. The kitchen fire-places were of immense size, large enough to roast a sheep or whole hog; and the hooks and trammels sustained large iron pots and kettles. In the spacious chimney-corners the children and negroes gathered—telling stories and cracking nuts by the light of the blazing pine knots, while the industrious *vrows* turned the merry spinning-wheel, and their lords, the worthy burghers—mayhap just returned from an Indian scrimmage—quietly smoked their long pipes, as they sat watching the wreaths curling above their heads. At length, the clock, with its brazen tongue, having proclaimed the hour of nine, family prayers were said, and all retired, to rise with the dawn.

A model housekeeper rose at cock-crowing, breakfasted with the dawn, and proceeded to the duties of the day; and when the sun reached the meridian or "noon mark," dinner, which was strictly a family meal, was on the table. This domestic time-piece answered every purpose, so

regular were the hours and lives of the people. At one time there were not more than half a dozen clocks in New Amsterdam, with about the same number of watches. But they were strikingly peculiar in one respect: they were scarcely ever known to go, and hence were of very little practical utility. No watch-maker had yet found it profitable to visit the settlement; and this was a period two centuries before the invention of Yankee clocks. For a long while, time was marked by hour-glasses and sun-dials.

We have already seen the interior of the kitchen, and will now go up stairs into the parlor of the early Dutch dwellings. Stoves were never dreamed of, but in their place was the cheerful fire-place, sometimes in the corner, but more generally reaching nearly across the back of the room, with its huge gum back-log and glowing fire of hickory. The shovel and tonges occupied each corner of the fire-place, keeping guard, as it were, over the family brass-mounted andirons which supported the blazing wood. Marble mantles had not yet been invented, but chimney-jambs, inlaid with party colors, imported Holland tiles, representing all kinds of Scriptural stories, were quite ornamental as well as instructive. Many a youngster has received categorical instruction from these silent, venerable teachers.

In one corner of the room always stood the huge oaken iron-bound chest, brimful of household linen, spun by the ladies of the family, who delighted to display these domestic riches to their visitors. Later, this plain wardrobe gave place to the "*chest of drawers*," one drawer placed upon the other, until the pile reached the ceiling, with its shining brass rings and key-holes. The book-case, too, with its complicated writing-desk, mysterious secret drawers and pigeon-holes came into use about the same period, though both were unknown to the early Knickerbockers. Side-boards were not introduced into New Amsterdam until after the American Revolution, and were entirely of English origin. The round tea-table also occupied a place in a corner of the parlor, while the large square dining-table stood in the kitchen for daily use. In another corner stood the well-known Holland cupboard, with glass doors, conspicuously displaying the family plate and porcelain. Little looking-glasses in narrow black frames, were in common use; two or three only of the wealthiest burghers possessing larger mirrors, elaborately ornamented with gilding and flowers. About 1730, the *sconce* came in fashion—a hanging or projecting candlestick, with a mirror to reflect the rays. This was a very showy article, giving a fine light to the rooms.* After this period,

* Two of these quaint fixtures, a hundred and fifty years old, hung, until a year or two since, in the parlor of the Union Hall, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Old visitors will readily recall them. They now adorn the parlors of Mrs. Washington Putnam, of Saratoga Springs, the widow of the late Washington Putnam, for many years the genial host and owner of the "Union."

pier and mantle glasses came into fashion. Pictures, such as they were, abounded; but they were for the most part poor engravings of Dutch cities and naval engagements. Chintz calico of inferior quality formed the only window curtains, without any cornices. There were no carpets among the early Dutch, nor any in general use among New Yorkers until up to the period of the Revolution. The famous Captain Kidd, it is said, owned the first modern carpet in his best room, and the pirate's house was the best furnished in the city. It was made of Turkey work, at a cost of twenty-five dollars, and resembled a large rug. The custom of sanding the floor of the principal room, or parlor, was universal, and much taste was displayed in the many fanciful devices and figures made in the sand with the brooms of the smart Dutch matrons and daughters. Our Holland ancestors knew nothing of lounges or sofas, or even that comfortable American invention, the rocking-chair. Their best chairs were straight and high-backed, covered with Russia leather, and elaborately ornamented with double and triple rows of brass nails. In addition to these, the parlor was decorated with one or two chairs having embroidered seats and backs, the handiwork of the daughters. Some of the oldest families also displayed in their best rooms two chairs with cushions of tapestry, or velvet, trimmed with lace. About the year 1700, cane seats became fashionable, and thirty years after came the leather chairs, worth from five to ten dollars each. These led the fashion about thirty years more, when mahogany and black walnut chairs, with their crimson damask cushions, appeared.

But the most ornamental piece of furniture in the parlor was the bed, with its heavy curtains and valance of camlet. No mattresses then, but a substantial bed of live geese feathers, with a very light one of down for the covering. These beds were the boast and pride of the most respectable Dutch matrons, and, with their well-filled chests of home-made linen, supplied their claims to skill in housekeeping. A check covering cased the beds and pillows; the sheets were made of homespun linen, and over the whole was thrown a bedquilt of patchwork, wrought into every conceivable shape and pattern.

The "*betste*" (bedstead) was at this period a part of the house. It was constructed something like a cupboard, with closing doors, so that by day when unoccupied, the apartment could be used for a sitting-room. In more humble houses, the "*sloap banck*," or "bunk," was the sleeping place. In Dutch taverns, the good *vrow* or her maid opened the doors of the "betste" for the traveler, and, like a kind mother, bade him "*mel te rusten*"—"good-night," and always, as an old friend, "*hoo-y rees*"—"good-by." To this day, in Holland, travelers meet similar receptions at the taverns; and all the guests, assembling in one room, eat, drink, and smoke.

Our Dutch forefathers were fond of pure, good milk—a luxury

unknown to their unfortunate descendants. It was the common practice for all who could afford stable room to keep their own cows, and thus furnish their families with milk and butter. Rip Van Dam, in 1748, kept two cows; and Abraham De Peyster, one of the wealthiest merchants, owned the same number. Good pasturage, too, surrounded the town, no further off than the present Park. A man with a bell came along early in the morning for the cows, driving them through Wall to the city-gate, at the corner of that street and Water; thence to the fields about the Collect, where the Tombs now stand; in the evening, he brought them back to their owners.

In the earlier period of New Amsterdam, the grain was made into flour by pestle and mortar, every family adopting this method. Coin then as now (1868) was exceedingly scarce; nor was there even any paper currency. Hence, grain became as much the circulating medium as "greenbacks" are at the present day with us. From this circumstance, the pestle and mortar constituted the real mints of the people; the pounded grain passing current for goods and labor, like bank-notes.

The horses of those days were bred wild in the woods and pastures which covered the upper part of Manhattan Island. Thousands of them ran at large, their owners, at certain seasons, branding them with their names, when they were turned loose again, until winter rendered a shelter for them necessary. Such was their great increase, that it is said the Island was overrun by the animals, now become as wild and dangerous as the buffaloes of the prairies; the breed was, consequently, inferior, the price of a horse ranging from ten dollars to forty dollars, according to the strength, and not the speed, of the animal. This great plenty of horseflesh, however, afforded ample opportunity for the fair Dutch dames to indulge in their favorite pastime—riding on horseback. The ladies, at this period, however, did not ride on horseback, *alone*, as is now the fashion, but were mounted upon a pillion, or padded cushion, placed behind the gentleman's saddle (or a servant's), upon whose support they depended. This was the common custom, as the roads were unbroken, being, in fact, little better than bridle-paths. Early in the eighteenth century, side-saddles came into partial use. The gentlemen's housings were made of bright-colored cloths or velvet, often trimmed with silver lace; holsters were common.

The literature of New Amsterdam was entirely different from that of modern times. In the place of the novels, magazines, and light reading which now fill the center-tables, there was to be found little else than Bibles, Testaments, and psalm-books. The matrons' church books were generally costly bound, with silver clasps and edgings, and sometimes of gold. These were suspended to the girdle by silver and gold chains, and distinguished the style of the families using them, on the Sabbath days.

The Sundays in New Amsterdam were, moreover, better observed by its inhabitants than at the present day. All classes, arrayed in their best, then attended the public services of religion; and the people, almost exclusively Calvinists, attended the Dutch Reformed Church. The "*Koeck*," or bell-ringer and sexton, was an important personage on the Sabbath. He not only summoned the congregation by the sound of the church-going bell, but formed a procession of himself and his assistants to carry the cushions of the burgomasters and schepens from the City Hall to the pews appropriated to these officials. At the same time, the Schout went his rounds, to see that quiet was kept in the streets during Divine worship, and also to stop the games of the negro slaves and Indians—to whom the Sabbath was allowed as a day of recreation, except during church hours.

Small pieces of *wampum* were obtained by the deacons, and sold at great value to the heads of the Dutch families. These, having been distributed among the different members of families, were then taken to church, and deposited in the collection-bags, which were attached to long poles. Such was the custom a long while; nor, in some of the interior Dutch settlements, has it been entirely abandoned at the present day. Formerly, a small bell was attached to the bottom of the bags, to remind the drowsy of the collection. The deacons, being thus prepared to receive the benefactions of the congregation, presented themselves in front of the pulpit, when, the Dominie having addressed a few appropriate words to them, they forthwith proceeded to collect the contributions. At that day, also, the "*Koorleser*," or Clerk, occupied a little pew in front of the pulpit, holding in his hand a rod, on the end of which all notices were placed, and thus passed up to the Dominie. The moment the minister reached the pulpit stairs, he offered a private prayer, holding his hat before his face, until, having sought the aid of his Lord and Master, he ascended the sacred desk.

It was, also at this time, the custom to publish from the pulpit the *bans* three times before a marriage could be solemnized.

The Dutch Church was, at this period, within the fort at the Battery; and the present Bowling Green, an open field, exhibited many country wagons, arranged in regular order, while their horses were allowed to graze on the green slopes that led down to the Hudson River. And here, in the old Church of *St. Nicholas*, for half a century, from 1642 to 1693, the early Dutch worshipped God in His Holy Temple.

Every house in New Amsterdam was surrounded by a garden, sufficiently large to accommodate a horse, a cow, two pigs, fowls, a patch of cabbages, and a tulip-bed. Indeed, the love of flowers seems to have been inherent to the Dutch dames. While the head of a family carefully watched the growth of some ancient household tree, planted in accordance with a universal custom in New Amsterdam directly before

the door-way, the matron might have been seen with her large calash over her shoulders, and her little painted basket of seeds in her hand, going to the labors of the garden. Nor is this figurative. It was the universal custom for a Dutch lady in independent circumstances, gentle of form and manner, to sow, plant, and cultivate. These fair gardeners were also good florists. Where has there ever been found choicer hyacinths and tulips than among the Hollanders? Indeed, all New Yorkers may well feel proud of their great-great-great Holland grandmothers. They were fair and unblemished religious dames, with great grasp of mind and of exemplary industry. The important task of religious instruction chiefly devolved upon them; and the essentials, especially the ceremonials of piety, were instilled upon the minds of their children. Hence mothers among the early Dutch were always regarded with peculiar reverence.

The Dutch ladies wore no bonnets, as is still the fashion with some of the German emigrants who now arrive at Castle Garden. At New Amsterdam the fashionable dress was a colored petticoat, rather short (for ease in walking), waist jacket, colored hose of homespun woolen, and high-heeled shoes, suitable to a city destitute of pavements or sidewalks of any kind. The Dutch burghers wore long-waisted coats, with skirts reaching almost to their ankles, and adorned with large silver buttons. The wardrobe of a prominent burgomaster at the transfer of New Amsterdam to the British, was as follows: A cloth coat, with silver buttons, worth fifteen dollars; a stuff coat, ten dollars; cloth breeches, ten shillings; a cloth coat, with gimp buttons, seven dollars and fifty cents; a black cloth coat, seven dollars; a black velvet coat, fifteen dollars; a silk coat, breeches, and doublet, six dollars; a silver cloth breeches and doublet, five dollars; a velvet waistcoat, with silver lace, five dollars; a buff coat and silk sleeves, five dollars; three grass-green cloaks, six dollars each; besides several old suits. To these, also, must be added linen, hose, shoes with silver buckles, a cane with an ivory head, and a hat. It may be doubted if Mayor Hoffman, with all his cloths and cassimers, can "begin" to "turn out" such an assortment of coats, pants, and vests, as this official Dutchman, his predecessor, in "ye olden time."*

In the good old Dutch times respectable tradesmen worked hard; none were drones or mere lookers-on. There existed but little competition among tradesmen, as with us. No tempting display of goods in show-windows attracted the attention and excited the desire of passers-

* A little later, in 1690, we find among a fashionable gentleman's apparel, green silk breeches, flued with silver and gold; silver gauze-breeches, scarlet and blue silk stockings, laced shirt, a blue cloth stuff and frieze coat, a gun and a pair of pistols, a silver-hilted sword, a silver spoon and fork, a lacku hat, a campaign, shut-bob, old-bob wigs, and periwigs.

by to go beyond their means. Content to sell their goods at a fair profit, they secured both good customers and a reputation for probity and fair dealing. It was the English who first introduced display, fashion, and extravagance. It was they who first introduced the custom of keeping the shops open at night—a needless and expensive fashion, and greatly injurious to the health and morals of the clerks. In these early days, however, the diligent closed their stores and shops at an early hour. All classes went on foot, for carriages and wheeled vehicles were very scarce. Even physicians paid all their visits on foot; and in another respect they differ widely from the doctors of the present day—their charges were very moderate.

At funerals, it was the custom to give hot wine in winter, and wine-sangaree in summer. Ladies generally attended on such mournful occasions, especially if the deceased was a female, when burnt wine was served in silver tankards. At a later era, on the death of Mrs. Daniel Phoenix, the wife of the City Treasurer, all the pall-bearers were ladies.

The workingman always wore his leather-apron, no matter what his employment. Tradesmen were accustomed to saw their own wood; and a most healthful exercise it was. Nor did any man in middle circumstances fear to carry home his "one hundred weight" of meal from market. On the contrary, it would have been considered a disgrace to have avoided such a burden.

A greater change, however, in the habits of the people, cannot be named than in that of hired servants or "help." The female servants formerly wore short gowns of green baize, with petticoats of linsey-woolsey, receiving only half a dollar a week for their wages. Now, they demand from eight to fourteen dollars a month, and dress like fashionable ladies, displaying all their pride and show.

In these primitive days, also, when a man "set up business," he invariably took down his own shutters, opened the door, swept the store, and dusted the goods himself by the gray dawn. Then men grew rich by early rising, economy, and industry, and by attending to their own business themselves, and not leaving their interests in the charge of boys, agents, or clerks. The only capital of most young men then was industry and punctuality; and labor and honesty were as fashionable at this early day as stylish young men, defaulting cashiers, fast living, and fast horses are now. Neither would any sensible matron permit her daughter to encourage the attentions of any young man who was not his own servant.

Shortly before the cession of New Amsterdam to the British rule, the settlement was celebrated for its number of young people, as the children of the early emigrants had then reached adult age. Several daughters of the wealthy burghers were married to young Englishmen whose visits were only of a temporary character. Many romantic rural spots, everywhere surrounding the settlements at New Netherland, were

naturally favorable to the important business of courtship, and there were several places of pleasant resort famed for this business, even at that early day. The *Locust-Trees* was one, upon a bluff on the shore of the North River, a little back of the present Trinity Church-yard. From this commanding and shady eminence, the eye could wander over an extensive vista of river, bay, islands, and the bold, distant hills of New Jersey. Here, too, was the West India Company's beautiful garden, on the site of the present Trinity Church, with its rich flowers and vegetable productions. A little beyond the town was *Maiden's Valley*, now Maiden Lane, a rural, shady walk, with a charming little rivulet meandering through it. The original name of this rustic walk was *T'Maagde Paatje*, or the "Maiden's Path." South of this lane stretched the *Clover Waytie*, or "Pasture Field;" and from the present Gold street, hidden in the foliage, a little stream, fed by a living spring, came tumbling down the rocks. From John, near Gold, a longer walk led to the enchanting lakelet, the *Kolch*, or Collect, nestling within a circle of forest hills. Like many such ponds in the vicinity of old villages, this, traditionally, had no bottom, and was said to be haunted by the spirits of some old native sachems, the paddles of whose canoes could be heard at night, though nothing was seen visibly to disturb the crystal waters. All these spots were famous trysting-places of the youthful New Netherlanders. But how changed the scene! Where those sparkling and beautiful waters once flowed, and the morning carols of the birds were heard, the dark, sorrowful, and sinful abodes of the "Five Points" now stand in close proximity to the gloomy prison-cells of the "Tombs."

But although New York City, two hundred years ago, passed over to British rule, still the inhabitants remained Dutch in their manners, costumes, modes of thought, and religious ideas, for many subsequent years. Sleighing was a fashionable amusement; and a ride to Harlem became the longest drive among the "city folk." Parties, however, often turned aside to visit "Hell Gate," influenced, doubtless, by the fact that on this road, over the Tamkill (a little stream emptying into the East River, opposite Blackwell's Island), was the "*Kissing Bridge*," so laid down on the old maps, and named from the old Dutch custom of the gentlemen saluting their lady companions whenever they crossed the bridge. That was the day also of the "cocked hats" and "cues," which stuck out from behind the head "stiff as a poker." The most fashionable gentleman made his appearance before the fair one who was to be his companion in the ride, in a large camlet cloak with a very large cape, snuff-colored coat and small clothes, and stockings drawn over the shoes to keep out the snow. In addition, a woolen tippet warmly protected his neck, and domestic-knit mittens his hands. People then showed their good sense by dressing according to the weather.

An old chronicle tell us that an Ethiopian, named Cæsar, had great

fame as a driver, fiddler, and waiter. The ladies, once upon a time, appeared in linsey-woolsey cardinals, with hoods of immense size; and at noon away went the party in high glee, to the jingle of sleigh-bells, to take a dish of tea and a dance at Harlem. Reaching there, Cæsar tuned his three-stringed fiddle; and the gentlemen appeared in their snare-toed shoes, and the ladies in peak-toed, high-heeled slippers. Dancing and skipping the "light, fantastic toe" immediately begun, and continued until *eight o'clock* in the evening, when they again hastened back to the city; for "to be out" after nine, on common occasions, was considered a certain sign of bad morals.

To sum up, the earliest Dutch emigrants to New York left their deep impress upon the city and upon the State. Far-reaching commerce, which immortalized Old Amsterdam in the seventeenth century, soon provoked the envy of New Amsterdam's neighbors, and in the end made our city the emporium of the Western World. Our ancestors left children and children's children, who were well fitted to act important parts in the great work of opening the American continent to European and Christian civilization. They brought with them honest maxims, industry, and the liberal ideas of their *Fatherland*—their schoolmasters, their dominies, and their BIBLES. In the course of events, however, New Netherland passed over to British rule, when new customs, new relationships, and new habits of thought, were introduced.*

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* It may be amusing to many of the present generation, so little accustomed to the old Dutch names, to read some titles once very familiar in New Amsterdam and New York, but now so seldom thought of or understood:

De Herr—Officer; or *Hoofd-Schout*, High-Sheriff.

De Fiscoll—Attorney-General.

Groot Bingenecht, and *Klein Bingenecht*, the great and small citizenship, early marking the two orders of society.

The *Schout* (Sheriff), *Burgomeesters*, and *Schepens*, then ruled the city, "as in all cities of the *Fatherland*."

Geheim Schuyner—Recorder of Secrets.

Wees-Meesters—Guardians of Orphans.

Roy-Meester—Regulator of Fences.

Eyck-Meester—The Weigh-Master.

The word *Bos* still in use, a century ago was written *Baas*, and literally means "master"—not a very popular name for Democrats to use, though they all greatly desire to become a *Bos*.

SECOND PERIOD.

1674–1783.

From the English Conquest to the Revolutionary War and the Termination of British Rule.

BEFORE entering upon the history of this period, it seems desirable to take a ramble about the limits of New Amsterdam and see for ourselves how it appeared at the time that the Dutch surrendered it to the English. In our walk we will take as our guide a map of the "*Towne of Wambados, or New Amsterdam, as it was in September*, 1661," a copy of which now lies before us. This is, so far as known, the only plan of the city executed in the early Dutch times, and was found a few years since in the British Museum.

The town wind-mill stood on a bluff, within our present Battery, opposite Greenwich street. On Water, between Whitehall and Moore streets, was the "Government House," built, by Stuyvesant, of stone, and the best edifice in the town. When Governor Dongan became its owner he changed its name from the "Government House" to "Whitehall," and hence the name of the street. It was surrounded by a large inclosure, one side of which, with the garden, was washed by the river. A little dock for pleasure-boats ran into the stream at this point. Here, also, was located the Governor's house, between which, and the canal in Broad street, was the present Pearl street, then the great center of trade—known as the "Water-side," and sometimes as the "Strand." Near the Governor's house was the "Way-House," or Weigh-House, at the head of the public wharf at the foot of the present Moore street. A very short distance off, and parallel with Pearl, ran the *Burgh Straat* (the present Bridge street), so named from the fact of its leading to the bridge across the canal in Broad. There was a small passage-way running through this block and along the side of the "Old Church," for convenient access to a row of houses, laid down on the map. These, five in number, belonged to the Company, and were built of stone. In front of them was a beautiful sloping green. The canal in Broad street was, in truth, but a narrow stream, running toward Wall street for a quarter of a mile. Both sides were dyked with posts, in the fashion of *Fatherland*,

at the distance of twelve feet from the houses. On each side, as houses line a canal in Holland, stood a row of buildings in the ultra Dutch style, low, high-peaked, and very neat, with their gables toward the street. Each had its stoop, a vane or weather-cock, and its dormer-window. From the roof of one, a little iron crane projected, with a small boat at its end, as a sign of this being the "Ferry-House." The landing was at the head of the canal, in Broad street, at the point where Garden united with it. This canal or little stream originally went up to "Verlettenberg Hill" (Exchange Place), afterward corrupted into "Flottenbanck." This was the head of tide-water; and here the country people from Brooklyn, Gowanus, and Bergen brought their marketing to the center of the city. Many of the market-boats were rowed by stout women, without hats or bonnets, but wearing in their place close caps. There were generally two rowers to each craft.

Further along the East River or "Water-side" a building of considerable pretension appeared—the *Stadt Huys* or City Hall, first erected as a tavern, but afterward taken by the municipal government. In front of the *Stadt Huys* was placed a battery of three guns. Proceeding along the river-shore we pass Hanover Square, where two boats are lying, and approach the "City Gate," at the foot of Wall street, sometimes called the "Water Gate," to distinguish it from the "Land Gate" at that end of the road on the *Sheera Straat* (Broadway). The Water Gate seems to have been quite an imposing structure, doubtless because Pearl street was the great thoroughfare and main entrance to the town. Most of the strangers or visitors to New Amsterdam came from Long Island.

Continuing our walk toward Long Island Ferry, or "Passage-Place," and passing by Maiden Lane, we come to another public way, leading to "Shoemakers' Land" and "Vandercliff's Orchard," both places of noted resort. This was the present John street, from Pearl to Cliff.

At a very early day the tanneries in Broad street were declared a nuisance, and their owners ordered to remove beyond the city limits. This they did, and established themselves along Maiden Lane, then a marshy valley. Four of the number, shoemakers by trade, purchased a tract of land bounded by Broadway, Ann, William, and Gold streets, and here commenced their business. This region was thenceforth known as the *Shoemakers' Land*, a name which it retained so late as 1696, when it was divided into town-lots. The tanners were next driven from this locality into what is even now known as the "*Swamp.*" The *Vandercliff's Orchard* was bounded by the East River, Shoemakers' Land, and Maiden Lane. Its original owner was Hendrick Ryker, who sold it in 1680 to Dirck Vandercliff. During the Revolution this tract received the more pleasant-sounding name of *Golden Hill*, so named, it is said, from the fine wheat grown on it. Cliff street yet preserves a part of the old title. Proceeding past Golden Hill we come to a large edifice, close to

the present site of Fulton Market, and marked on the map as "Alderton's Buildings," surrounded by a fence. This is supposed to be the store-house of Isaac Allerton, who resided at New Amsterdam and carried on an extensive trade with the New England colonies. He was one of the emigrants in the *May Flower,* and a notable character in our early history. His business was the importation of tobacco from Virginia, and this edifice was probably his great tobacco depot.

Continuing our tour we reach the "Passage-Place," the present Peck Slip, known for a long time as the "Old Ferry." This was the earliest Brooklyn ferry, the city authorities in 1654 regulating its rates at three stivers for foot-passengers, except Indians, who paid six, unless there were two or more. Here Cornelis Dircksen, the ferryman, who owned a farm near by, at the sound of a horn hanging on the tree from the passengers, ferried them over in his little skiff. Still further on there was a little stream, on the bank of which stood a water-mill. This brook ran into *Walphat's Meadow*, which covered the present Roosevelt street and vicinity. This stream, known as "Old Wreck Brook," ran from the meadow into the Kolch (Collect), a bridge crossing it on the highway in Chatham near Pearl.

The "*Commons*" (the present Park) was a well-known spot in early New York. Through it passed the post-road to Boston, the present Chatham street, and for many years this was the place for public executions. North of the Commons, or the *Vlackte* (the "Flat"), lay the Fresh-Water Pond (to which allusion has already been made) with its neighboring district *Kolch Hook*, or Collect, below the Commons.* Near the Collect rose Potter's Hill. At its foot followed the "Owl's Kill," leading the waters of that pond through the marshes of "Wolfert's Valley" to the East River. Toward the river was the *Swamp*, the present Ferry street and neighborhood, a low marshy place, covered with bushes and briars.†

* As the city gradually extended its limits, the powder-house, at first built on the Commons, was considered unsafe, and a new magazine was built in 1728 upon a secluded little island in the Fresh-Water Pond. Not far from this place, in the course of the following year, Noe Willey, of London, gave to his three sons in New York the ground for a Jewish cemetery. It was bounded by Chatham, Catherine, and Oliver streets, and was to be held forever as a burial-place for the Israelites. But the wishes of the old Hebrew have been violated long since, for Chatham street now runs through the sacred enclosure, and Mammon has erected a bank and stores upon the spot. Some tomb-stones, however, still stand, like grim sentinels, to keep guard over this once hallowed and venerable grave-yard.

† In 1744, this tract was sold for £200 to Jacobus Roosevelt, who divided it into fifty lots and established on them several tanneries. This indicated its future destiny, and ever since it has been the center of the large leather trade of the city. More immense fortunes have been made about that region than any other of the same extent in the city. It was originally called *Beekman's Swamp*, and leased to Rip Van Dam, a member of the Council, for twenty-one years, at a yearly rent of twenty shillings.

The city wall, called the "lingel" or ramparts, was a row of palisades, with embankments nine feet high and four wide, on which several cannon were mounted on bastions. Two large stone points were afterward added—one on the corner of Broadway and Wall, called "*Hollandia*," and the other on the northwest corner of Wall and William, known as "*Zealandia*." These completely commanded the whole front of the city wall.

Retracing our steps into town, we have now leisure to examine more carefully the canal, which is laid down as running through the entire length of Broad street. Thirty years later this canal was filled up. It had a little branch running toward the west through Beaver street. The *Steeregraft*, or main canal, appears to have been crossed by two principal bridges, one at Bridge and the other at Stone street, with smaller ones, evidently designed for foot-passengers. Near Beaver street, small boats or canoes lie moored in the canal.

Pearl street then, and for many years afterward, formed the river bank. Water and South streets have both been reclaimed from the water.* On the west side of Broadway, above the grave-yard, at the present Morris street, were the country-seats of Messrs. Vandergrist and Van Dyck. On Whitehall street stood the parsonage of the Dutch Dominie, with its garden of beautiful tulips and hyacinths, and its paths of cedar and clipped box. Close at hand stood the bakery, brewery, and warehouse of the Company. In William, near Pearl, was the old horse-mill, erected, it will be remembered, by Director Minuit, and which did good service until superseded by the three wind-mills of Van Twiller. One of these stood on State street, and was the most prominent object seen in approaching the city from the bay. The old fort itself was bounded by Bridge, Whitehall, and State streets, and the Bowling Green.

Two main roads led from the fort at the Battery toward the northern part of the Island. One of these, afterward the "Boston, or the old Post Road," followed Broadway to the Park, and then extended through Chatham, Duane, William, and Pearl streets to the Bowery.† Along the Bowery road lay "Steenwyck's" and "Heerman's" orchards, with the well-known Stuyvesant's "Bowerie" (farm), whence the name. Near the last, and in the neighborhood of Grammercy Park, came "Crummashie Hill," while beyond were the "Zantberg" hills, with "Minetta" brook, which found its way through a marshy valley into the North River. Still further toward the north, near Thirty-sixth street and Fourth avenue,

* One of the last relics of these early days still (1868) stands on the corner of Peck Slip and Water street, and is well worth a visit. At the time of its erection the river flowed alongside of it.

† In the year 1696 the first hackney-coach was introduced upon the Bowery road. Previous to this time, with the exception of the Governor's, private coaches were unknown.

rose the "*Incleberg*" or "Beacon Hill," the Murray Hill of later times. From this latter point there was a commanding view of the whole Island. The other main road also started from the fort, and passing through Stone street to Hanover Square, led along the East River to the Brooklyn ferry.

Thus much for the *outward* appearance of New York at this time. In regard to its manners and interior life we are enabled—thanks to the late researches of the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, the Foreign Corresponding Secretary of the Brooklyn Historical Society—to speak even more definitely. Toward the middle of the seventeenth century a peculiar religious sect existed in Westphalia. They were known as Labadists, and professed a kind of mysticism, holding, nevertheless, to the tenets of the Dutch Reformed Church. In the summer of 1679 two of their number were sent over to America, with the view of ascertaining the nature of the country and government, and selecting a suitable place for the establishment of a colony of the religious community to which they belonged. The journal which they kept during their stay in America is of great interest, particularly that portion having reference to their visit to New York; for, aside from the quaintness and originality of the narrative, it is of peculiar value, as giving an inside view of the people of New Amsterdam at this time. As there were but a very small number of copies printed, and the circulation is therefore extremely limited, we shall take the liberty of quoting somewhat extensively from the work itself.*

"Having then fortunately arrived, by the blessing of the Lord, before the City of New York, on Saturday, the 23d day of September, we stepped ashore about four o'clock in the afternoon, in company with Gerrit, our fellow-passenger, who would conduct us, in this strange place. He had lived here a long time, and had married his wife here, although she and his children were living at present at Zwolle. We went along with him, but as he met many of his old acquaintances on the way, we were constantly stopped. He first took us to the house of one of his friends, who welcomed him and us, and offered us some of the fruit of the country, very fine peaches and full-grown apples, which filled our hearts with thankfulness to God. This fruit was exceedingly fair and good, and pleasant to the taste; much better than that in Holland or elsewhere, though I believe our long fasting and craving of food made it so agreeable. After taking a glass of Madeira, we proceeded on to Gerrit's father-in-law's, a very old man, half lame, and unable either to walk or stand, who fell upon the neck of his son-in-law, welcoming him with tears of joy. The old woman was also very glad. This good man was born in Vlissingen, and was named Jacob Swart. He had been formerly a master-carpenter at Amsterdam, but had lived in this country upwards of forty-five years. After we had been here a little while, we left our traveling-bag, and went out to take a walk in the fields. It was strange to us to feel such stability under us, although it seemed as if the earth itself moved under our feet like the ship had done for three months past, and our

* This journal was found in manuscript, a few years since, in Holland, by Mr. Murphy, who, perceiving its value, presented it a few months ago to the Brooklyn Historical Society, by whom a few copies were printed for the members in 1867.

body also still swayed after the manner of the rolling of the sea; but this sensation gradually passed off in the course of a few days. As we walked along we saw in different gardens trees full of apples of various kinds, and so laden with peaches and other fruit that one might doubt whether there were more leaves or fruit on them. I have never seen in Europe, in the best seasons, such an overflowing abundance. When we had finished our tour and given our guide several letters to deliver, we returned to his father-in-law's, who regaled us in the evening with milk, which refreshed us much. We had so many peaches set before us that we were timid about eating them, though we experienced no ill effects from them. We remained there to sleep, which was the first time in nine or ten weeks that we had lain down upon a bed undressed, and able to yield ourselves to sleep without apprehension of danger.

"24th, Sunday. We rested well through the night. I was surprised on waking up to find my comrade had already dressed himself and breakfasted upon peaches. We walked out awhile in the fine, pure morning air, along the margin of the clear running water of the sea, which is driven up this river at every tide. As it was Sunday, in order to avoid scandal and for other reasons, we did not wish to absent ourselves from church. We therefore went, and found there truly a wild, worldly world. I say wild, not only because the people are wild, as they call it in Europe, but because most all the people who go there to live, or who are born there, partake somewhat of the nature of the country, that is, peculiar to the land where they live. We heard a minister preach who had come from the up-river country, from Fort Orange, where his residence is, an old man named Dominie Schaats, of Amsterdam." * * * * "This Schaats then preached. He had a defect in the left eye and used such strange gestures and language that I think I never in all my life heard anything more miserable; indeed, I can compare him with no one better than with one Do. Van Eeke, lately the minister at Armuyden, in Zeeland, more in life, conversation, and gestures than in person. As it is not strange in these countries to have men as ministers who drink, we could imagine nothing else than that he had been drinking a little this morning. His text was, *Come unto me all ye, &c.*, but he was so rough that even the roughest and most godless of our sailors were astonished.

"The church being in the fort we had an opportunity to look through the latter, as we had come too early for preaching. It is not large; it has four points or batteries; it has no moat outside but is inclosed with a double row of palisades. It is built from the foundation with quarry stone. The parapet is of earth. It is well provided with cannon, for the most part of iron, though there were some small brass pieces, all bearing the mark or arms of the Netherlanders. The garrison is small. There is a well of fine water dug in the fort by the English, contrary to the opinion of the Dutch, who supposed the fort was built upon rock, and had, therefore, never attempted any such thing. There is, indeed, some indication of stone there, for along the edge of the water below the fort there is a very large rock extending apparently under the fort, which is built upon the point formed by the two rivers, namely, the East river, which is the water running between the Mahattans and Long Island, and the North river, which runs straight up to Fort Orange. In front of the fort, on the Long Island side, there is a small island, called Noten island (Nut island), around the point of which vessels must go in sailing out or in, whereby they are compelled to pass close by the point of the fort, where they can be flanked by several of the batteries. It has only one gate, and that is on the land side, opening upon a broad plane or street, called the Broadway or Beaverway. Over this gate are the arms of the Duke of York. During the time of the Dutch there were two gates, namely, another on the water side; but the English have closed it and made a battery there, with a false gate. In front of the church is

inscribed the name of Governor Kyft, who caused the same to be built in the year 1642. It has a shingled roof, and upon the gable towards the water there is a small wooden tower with a bell in it but no clock. There is a sun-dial on three sides. The front of the fort stretches east and west, and consequently the sides run north and south.

"After we had returned to the house and dined, my companion, not wishing to go to church, sat about writing letters, as there was a ship, of which Andre Bon was master, about to leave in a few days for London; but in order we should not be both absent from church, and as the usual minister was to preach in the afternoon, I went alone to hear him. He was a thick, corpulent person, with a red and bloated face, and of very slabbering speech.* His text was 'the elders who serve well,' &c., because the elders and deacons were that day renewed, and I saw them admitted. After preaching, the good old people with whom we lodged, who, indeed, if they were not the best on all the Manathans, were at least among the best, especially the wife, begged we would go with their son Gerrit, to one of their daughters, who lived in a delightful place, and kept a tavern, where we would be able to taste the beer of New Netherland, inasmuch as it was also a brewery. Some of their friends passing by requested Gerrit and us to accompany them, and so we went for the purpose of seeing what was to be seen; but when we arrived there, we found ourselves much deceived. On account of its being to some extent a pleasant spot it was resorted on Sundays by all sorts of revelers, and was a low pot-house. Our company immediately found acquaintances there and joined them, but it being repugnant to our feelings to be there, we walked into the orchard to seek pleasure in contemplating the innocent objects of nature. Among other trees we observed a mulberry-tree, the leaves of which were as large as a plate. The wife showed us pears larger than the fist, picked from a three years' graft which had borne forty of them. A great storm of rain coming up in the evening compelled us to go into the house, where we did not remain long with the others, but took our leave of them against their wishes. We retraced our steps in the dark, exploring a way over which we had gone only once in our life, through a *valey* (salt meadow) and over water upon the trunk of a tree. We nevertheless reached home, having left the others in their revels. While in their company we conversed with the first male born of Europeans in New Netherland, named Jean Vigné. His parents were from Valenciennes and he was now about sixty-five years of age. He was a brewer and a neighbor of our old people."

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"25th Monday. We went on board the ship this morning in order to obtain our traveling bag and clothes for the purpose of having them washed, but when we came on board we could not get ashore again before the afternoon, when the passengers' goods were to be delivered. All our goods which were between decks were taken ashore and carried to the public storehouse, where they had to be examined, but some time elapsed before it was done, in consequence of the examiners being elsewhere. At length, however, one Abraham Lennoy, a good fellow apparently, befriended us. He examined our chest only, without touching our bedding or any thing else. I showed him a list of the tin which we had in the upper part of our chest, and he examined it and also the tin, and turned up a little more what was in the chest and with that left off, without looking at it closely. He demanded four English shillings for the tin, remarking at the same time that he had observed some other small articles, but would not examine them closely, though he had not seen either the box or the pieces of linen. This being finished we sent our goods in

* The minister here referred to was the Rev. William Nieuenhuisen.

a cart to our lodgings, paying for the two heavy chests and straw beds and other goods from the public store-house to the Smit's *valey*, sixteen stivers of zeawan, equal to three stivers and a half in the money of Holland. This finished the day and we retired to rest.

"26th, Tuesday. We remained at home for the purpose of writing, but in the afternoon, finding that many goods had been discharged from the ship, we went to look after our little package, which also came. I declared it and it was examined. I had to pay twenty-four guilders in zeawan or five guilders in the coin of Holland. I brought it to the house and looked the things all over, rejoicing that we were finally rid of that miserable set and the ship, the freight only remaining to be paid, which was fixed at four guilders in coin. We went first to Margaret in relation to the freight, who said she had nothing more to do with it, and that we must speak to her husband about it, which it was not convenient to do that evening, and we therefore let it go, waiting for an opportunity to speak to her and her husband with the captain, and perhaps also Mr. Jan.

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"As soon as we had dined we sent off our letters, and this being all accomplished we started at two o'clock for Long Island. This island is called Long Island, not so much because it is longer than it is broad, but particularly because it is the Longest island in this region, or even along the whole coast of New Netherland, Virginia and New England. It is one hundred and forty-four miles in length and from twenty-four to twenty-eight miles wide, though there are several bays and points along it, and consequently it is much broader in some places than others, On the west is Staten Island, from which it is separated about a mile, and the great bay over which you see the *Nevesincke*. With Staten Island it makes the passage through which all vessels pass in sailing from or to the *Mahatans*, although they can go through the *Kil Van Kol*, which is on the other side of Staten Island. The ends of these islands opposite each other are quite high land, and they are therefore called the *Hoofden* (Headlands), from a comparison with the Hoofden of the channel between England and France in Europe. On the north is the island of *Mahatans* and a part of the mainland. On the east is the sea, which shoots up to New England, and in which there are various islands. On the south is the great ocean. The outer shore of this island has before it several small islands and broken land, such as Coney Island,* a low, sandy island of about three hours' circuit, its westerly point forming with Sandy Hook on the other side the entrance from the sea. It is oblong in shape, and is grown over with bushes. Nobody lives upon it, but it is used in winter for keeping cattle, horses, oxen, hogs and others, which are able to obtain there sufficient to eat the whole winter, and to shelter themselves from the cold in the thickets. This island is not so cold as Long Island or the *Mahatans*, or others, like some islands on the coast, in consequence of their having more sea breeze, and of the saltness of the sea breaking upon the shoals, rocks and reefs with which the coast is beset. There is also the Bear's Island† and others, separated from Long Island by creeks and marshes overflown at high water. There are also on this sea coast various miry places like the Vlaeck‡ and others, as well as some sand bays and hard and rocky shores. Long Island stretches into the sea for the most part east by south and east-southeast. None of its land is very high, for you must be nearly opposite Sandy Hook before you can see it. There is a hill or ridge running length-

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* *'t Conijnen Eylant*, Rabbit's island.

† *'t Beeren Eylant.* Now called Barren Island.

‡ The Wieringen shoals in the Zuyder Zee are probably meant.

wise through the island, nearest the north side and west end of the island. The south side and east end are more flat. The water by which it is separated from the *Mahatans*, is improperly called the East River, for it is nothing else than an arm of the sea, beginning in the bay on the west and ending in the sea on the east. After forming in this passage several islands, this water is as broad before the city as the Y before Amsterdam, but the ebb and flood tides are stronger. There is a ferry for the purpose of crossing over it which is farmed out by the year and yields a good income, as it is a considerable thoroughfare, this island being one of the most populous places in this vicinity. A considerable number of Indians live upon it, who gain their subsistence by hunting and fishing, and they, as well as others, must carry their articles to market over this ferry or boat them over, as it is free to every one to use his own boat, if he have one, or to borrow or hire one for the purpose. The fare over the ferry is three stivers* in zeawan for each person.

Here we three crossed over, my comrade Gerrit, our guide and myself, in a row-boat, as it happened, which, in good weather and tide, carries a sail. When we came over we found there Jan Teunissen, our fellow-passenger, who had promised us so much good. He was going over to the city to deliver his letters and transact other business. He told us he would return home in the evening and we would find him there. We went on up the hill along open roads and a little woods, through the first village, called Breukelen, which has a small and ugly little church standing in the middle of the road.† Having passed through here, we struck off to the right in order to go to *Gouanes*. We went upon several plantations where Gerrit was acquainted with most all of the people, who made us very welcome, sharing with us bountifully whatever they had, whether it was milk, cider, fruit, or tobacco, and especially and first and most of all, miserable rum or brandy which had been brought from Barbadoes and other islands, and which is called by the Dutch *kill-devil*. All these people are very fond of it, and most of them extravagantly so, although it is very dear and has a bad taste. It is impossible to tell how many peach-trees we passed all laden with fruit to breaking down, and many of them actually broken down. We came to a place surrounded with such trees from which so many had fallen off that the ground could not be discerned, and you could not put your foot down without trampling them, and notwithstanding such large quantities had fallen off, the trees still were as full as they could bear. The hogs and other animals mostly feed on them. This place belongs to the oldest European woman in the country. We went immediately into her house where she lived with her children. We found her sitting by the fire smoking tobacco incessantly, one pipe after another. We inquired after her age, which the children told us was a hundred years. She was from Luyck (Liege), and still spoke good Waalsche (old French) with us. She could reason very well sometimes, and at other times she could not. She showed us several large apples as good fruit of that country and different from that of Europe. She had been about fifty years now in the country and had above seventy children

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* Less than half a cent in our money.

† Breukelen, now Brooklyn, was so called from the village of that name in the province of Utrecht. The church here referred to was built in 1666, and was the first one in Brooklyn. When it was taken down does not appear. "A second church," says Furman, in his *Notes relating to Brooklyn*, 76, "was erected on the site of that built in 1666, which second church continued standing until about 1810, when a new and substantial church was erected on Joralemon street, and the old one taken down. This old church was a very gloomy-looking building with small windows, and stood in the middle of the highway about a mile from Brooklyn ferry." Of this second church a view is given in the *Brooklyn Manual* of 1863.

and grandchildren. She saw the third generation after her. Her mother had attended women in childbed in her one hundred and sixth year, and was one hundred and eleven or twelve years old when she died. We tasted here for the first time, smoked *twaelft** (twelfth), a fish so called because it is caught in season next after the *elft*† (eleventh). It was salted a little and then smoked, and although it was now a year old, it was still perfectly good and in flavor not inferior to smoked salmon. We drank here, also, the first new cider, which was very fine.

"We proceeded on to Gouanes, a place so called, where we arrived in the evening at one of the best friends of Gerrit, named Symon. He was very glad to see us, and so was his wife. He took us into the house, and entertained us exceedingly well. We found a good fire, half-way up the chimney, of clear oak and hickory, of which they made not the least scruple of burning profusely. We let it penetrate us thoroughly. There had been already thrown upon it, to be roasted, a pail-full of Gouanes oysters, which are the best in the country. They are fully as good as those of England, and better than those we eat at Falmouth. I had to try some of them raw. They are large and full, some of them not less than a foot long, and they grow sometimes ten, twelve, and sixteen together, and are then like a piece of rock. Others are young and small. In consequence of the great quantities of them, everybody keeps the shells for the purpose of burning them into lime. They pickle the oysters in small casks, and send them to Barbadoes and the other islands. We had for supper a roasted haunch of venison, which he had bought of the Indians for three guilders and a half of *seewant*, that is, fifteen stuivers of Dutch money (fifteen cents), and which weighed thirty pounds. The meat was exceedingly tender and good, and also quite fat. It had a slight spicy flavor. We were also served with wild turkey, which was also fat and of a good flavor; and a wild goose, but that was rather dry. Every thing we had was the natural production of the country. We saw here, lying in a heap, a whole hill of watermelons, which were as large as pumpkins, and which Symon was going to take to the city to sell. They were very good, though there is a difference between them and those of the Caribly islands; but this may be owing to its being late in the season, as these were the last pulling. It was very late at night when we went to rest in a Kermis bed, as it is called, in the corner of the hearth, along side of a good fire.

"30th, Saturday. Early this morning the husband and wife set off for the city with their marketing; and we, having explored the land in the vicinity, left after breakfast. We went a part of the way through a woods and fine, new-made land, and so along the shore to the west end of the island, called *Najack*.‡ As we proceeded along the shore, we found, among other curiosities, a highly-marbled stone, very hard, in which we saw Muscovy glass lying in layers between the clefts, and how it was struck or cut out. We broke off a small piece with some difficulty, and picked out a little glass in the splits. Continuing onward from there, we came to the plantation of the *Najack* Indians, which was planted with maize, or Turkish wheat. We soon heard a noise of pounding, like thrashing, and went to the place whence it proceeded, and found there an old Indian woman busily employed beating Turkish beans out of the pods by means of a stick, which she did with astonishing force and dexterity. Gerrit inquired of her, in the Indian language, which he spoke perfectly well, how old she was, and she answered eighty years; at which we were still more astonished that so old a woman should still have so much strength and

* The striped bass.

† The shad.

‡ Fort Hamilton, which is surrounded, in a great measure, by a marsh, and hence is here called an island.

courage to work as she did. We went from thence to her habitation, where we found the whole troop together, consisting of seven or eight families, and twenty or twenty-two persons, I should think. Their house was low and long, about sixty feet long and fourteen or fifteen feet wide. The bottom was earth, the sides and roof were made of reed and the bark of chestnut trees; the posts, or columns, were limbs of trees stuck in the ground, and all fastened together. The top, or ridge of the roof, was open about half a foot wide, from one end to the other, in order to let the smoke escape, in place of a chimney. On the sides, or walls, of the house, the roof was so low that you could hardly stand under it. The entrances, or doors, which were at both ends, were so small that they had to stoop down and squeeze themselves to get through them. The doors were made of reed, or flat bark. In the whole building there was no lime, stone, iron, or lead. They build their fire in the middle of the floor, according to the number of families which live in it, so that from one end to the other each of them boils its own pot, and eats when it likes, not only the families by themselves, but each Indian alone, according as he is hungry, at all hours, morning, noon, and night. By each fire are the cooking utensils, consisting of a pot, a bowl, or calabash, and a spoon also made of a calabash. These are all that relate to cooking. They lie upon mats, with their feet towards the fire on each side of it. They do not sit much upon any thing raised up, but, for the most part, sit on the ground, or squat on their ankles. Their other household articles consist of a calabash of water, out of which they drink, a small basket in which to carry and keep their maize and small beans, and a knife. The implements are, for tillage, a small, sharp stone, and nothing more; for hunting, a gun and pouch for powder and lead; for fishing, a canoe without mast or sail, and without a nail in any part of it, though it is sometimes full forty feet in length, fish-hooks and lines, and scoop to paddle with in place of oars. I do not know whether there are not some others of a trifling nature. All who live in one house are generally of one stock or descent, as father and mother, with their offspring. Their bread is maize, pounded in a block by a stone, but not fine. This is mixed with water, and made into a cake, which they bake under the hot ashes. They gave us a small piece when we entered, and although the grains were not ripe, and it was half-baked and coarse grains, we nevertheless had to eat it, or, at least, not throw it away before them, which they would have regarded as a great sin, or a great affront. We chewed a little of it *with long teeth*, and managed to hide it so they did not see it. We had also to drink out of their calabashes the water which was their drink, and which was very good. We saw here the Indians who came on board the ship when we arrived. They were all very joyful at the visit of our Gerrit, who was an old acquaintance of theirs, and had heretofore long resided there. We presented them with two jews-harps, which much pleased them, and they immediately commenced to play upon them, which they could do tolerably well. Some of their *patroons* (chiefs), some of whom spoke good Dutch, and are also their medicine-men and surgeons as well as their teachers, were busy making shoes of deer-leather, which they understand how to make soft by continually working it in their hands. They had dogs, fowls, and hogs, which they learn by degrees from the Europeans how to manage better. They had, also, peach trees, which were well laden. Towards the last, we asked them for some peaches, and they answered: 'Go and pick them,' which showed their politeness. However, in order not to offend them, we went off and pulled some. Although they are such a poor, miserable people, they are, nevertheless, licentious and proud, and given to knavery and scoffing. Seeing a very old woman among them, we inquired how old she was, when some young fellows, laughing and jeering, answered twenty years, while it was evident to us she was not less than a hundred. We observed here the manner in which they travel with their

children, a woman having one which she carried on her back. The little thing clung tight around her neck like a cat, where it was kept secure by means of a piece of daffels, their usual garment. Its head, back, and buttocks, were entirely flat. How that happened to be so we will relate hereafter, as we now only make mention of what we saw.

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"4th, Wednesday. We slept for the night in our old place. In the morning the horses were harnessed to the wagon for the purpose of carrying us to the city, and bringing back some medicines which had arrived for him (Jaques) from Holland in our ship. We breakfasted to our full, and rode first to the bay, where we had left our traveling bag. Seeing there was nothing to be accomplished with our Jan Theunissen, all his great promises having vanished without the least result, though they had cost us dearly enough, we let that rest quiet, and taking our leave, rode on to *'t Vlacke Bos*, a village situated about an hour and a half's distance from there, upon the same plain, which is very large. This village seems to have better farms than the bay, and yields full as much revenue. Riding through it, we came to the woods and hills, which are very stony and uncomfortable to ride over. We rode over them, and passed through the village of *Breukelen* to the ferry, and leaving the wagon there, we crossed over the river and arrived at home at noon, where we were able to rest a little, and where our old people were glad to see us. We sent back to Jaques half of our tincture calimanaris, and half of our balsam sulphureous, and some other things. He had been of service to us in several respects, as he promised to be, and that with perfect willingness.

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"6th, Friday. We remained in the house during the forenoon, but after having dined we went out about two o'clock to explore the island of *Manathans*. This island runs east and west, or somewhat more northerly. On the north side of it is the North river, by which it is separated from the main land on the north; on the east end it is separated from the main land by a creek, or rather a branch of the North river, emptying itself into the East river. They can go over this creek at dead low water, upon rocks and reefs, at the place called *Spyt den duyvel*. This creek coming into the East river forms with it the two *Barents islands*.* At the west end of these two running waters, that is, where they come together to the east of these islands, they make, with the rocks and reefs, such a frightful eddy and whirlpool that it is exceedingly dangerous to pass through them, especially with small boats, of which there are some lost every now and then and the persons in them drowned; but experience has taught men the way of passing through them with less danger. Large vessels have always less danger because they are not capable of being carried along so quickly. There are two places where such whirling of the stream occurs, which are on account of the danger and frightfulness called the Great and Little Hellgate. After these two streams are united, the island of *Manathans* is separated on the south from Long Island by the East river, which, beginning at the bay before New York, runs eastwardly, after forming several islands, again into the sea. This island is about seven hours distance in length, but it is not a full hour broad. The sides are indented with bays, coves, and creeks. It is almost entirely taken up, that is, the land is held by private owners, but not half of it is cultivated. Much of it is good wood land. The west end, on which the city lies, is entirely cleared for more than an hour's distance, though that is the poorest ground; the best being on the east and north side. There are many brooks of fresh

* Now called Great and Little Barn Islands.

water running through it, pleasant and proper for man and beast to drink, as well as agreeable to behold, affording cool and pleasant resting-places, but especially suitable places for the construction of mills, for although there is no overflow of water yet it can be shut off and so used. A little eastward of *Nieu Haerlem* there are two ridges of very high rocks, with a considerable space between them, displaying themselves very majestically, and inviting all men to acknowledge in them the majesty, grandeur, power, and glory of their Creator, who has impressed such marks upon them. Between them runs the road to *Spyt den duyvel*. The one to the north is most apparent; the south ridge is covered with earth on its north side, but it can be seen from the water or from the main land beyond to the south. The soil between these ridges is very good, though a little hilly and stony, and would be very suitable, in my opinion, for planting vineyards, in consequence of its being shut off on both sides from the winds which would most injure them, and is very warm. We found blue grapes along the road which were very good and sweet, and as good as any I have tasted in the Fatherland.

We went from the city, following the Broadway, over the *valey*, or the fresh water. Upon both sides of this way were many habitations of negroes, mulattoes, and whites. These negroes were formerly the proper slaves of the West India Company, but, in consequence of the frequent changes and conquests of the country, they have obtained their freedom and settled themselves down where they have thought proper, and thus on this road, where they have ground enough to live on with their families. We left the village called the *Bouwerij*, lying on the right hand, and went through the woods to New Harlem, a tolerably large village situated on the south side of the island, directly opposite the place where the north-east creek and the East river come together, situated about three hours' journey from New Amsterdam, like as old Harlem in Europe is situated about three hours' distance from old Amsterdam. As our guide, Gerrit, had some business here, and found many acquaintances, we remained over night at the house of one *Geresolveert*,* scout (sheriff or constable) of the place, who had formerly lived in Brazil, and whose heart was still full of it. This house was constantly filled with people all the time drinking for the most part that execrable rum. He had also the best cider we have tasted. Among the crowd we found a person of quality, an Englishman, named Captain Cartaret, whose father is in great favor with the king, and he himself had assisted in several exploits in the king's service. He was administrator or captain-general of the English forces which went, in 1660, to retake St. Kitts, which the French had entirely conquered, and were repulsed. He had also filled some high office, in the ship of the Duke of York, with two hundred infantry under his command. The king has given to his father, Sir George Cartaret, the entire government of the lands west of the North river, in New Netherland, with power to appoint as governor whom he pleases; and at this present time there is a governor over it by his appointment, another Cartaret, his nephew, I believe, who resides at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey.† From this Cartaret in England the Quakers have purchased the privilege of a government of their own, over a large tract of territory which they have bought and settled within his dominion; and it is but little different from their having bought the entire right of government of the whole of

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* *Resolved*, a Christian name.

† Philip Cartaret, the brother, not the nephew, of Sir George, is the person here meant. He was appointed governor of New Jersey, under the joint proprietorship of Lord Berkeley and Sir George Cartaret, in 1664, and of East Jersey in 1674, under the sole grant to Sir George. He resigned in 1682, and died in December of that year, in this country, leaving a widow, the daughter of Richard Smith, Smithtown, on Long Island.— *Whitehead's East Jersey under the Proprietors*, 36, 84.

his land. This son is a very profligate person. He married a merchant's daughter here, and has so lived with his wife that her father has been compelled to take her home again. He runs about among the farmers, and stays where he can find most to drink, and sleeps in barns on the straw. If he conducted himself properly, he could be, not only governor here, but hold higher positions, for he has studied the moralities, and seems to have been of a good understanding; but that is all now drowned. His father, who will not acknowledge him as his son, as before, allows him yearly as much only as is necessary for him to live.

"7th, Saturday. This morning, about half-past six, we set out from the village in order to go to the end of the island; but before we left we did not omit supplying ourselves with peaches, which grew in an orchard along the road. The whole ground was covered with them and with apples, lying upon the new grain with which the orchard was planted. The peaches were the most delicious we had yet eaten. We proceeded on our way, and when we were not far from the point of *Spyt den duyvel* we could see on our left hand the rocky cliffs of the main land on the other side of the North river, these cliffs standing straight up and down, with the grain, just as if they were antimony. We crossed over the *Spyt den duyvel* in a canoe, and paid nine stuivers fare for us three, which was very dear. We followed the opposite side of the land, and came to the house of one *Valentyn*, a great acquaintance with our Gerrit. He had gone to the city, but his wife. though she did not know Gerrit or us, was so much rejoiced to see Hollanders that she hardly knew what to do for us. She set before us what she had. We left after breakfasting there. Her son showed us the way and we came to a road entirely covered with peaches. We asked the boy why they left them to lie there and they did not let the hogs eat them. He answered, we do not know what to do with them, there were so many; the hogs are satiated with them, and will not eat any more. From this we may judge of the quantity of them. We pursued our way now a small distance through the woods and over the hills, then back again along the shore to a point, where one *Webblingh*, an Englishman, lived, who was standing ready to cross over. He carried us over with him, and refused to take any pay for our passage, offering us at the same time some of his rum, a liquor which is everywhere. We were now again at New Harlem, and dined with *Gerosolveert*, at whose house we slept the night before, and who made us welcome. It was now two o'clock; and leaving there we crossed over the island, which takes about three-quarters of an hour to do, and came to the North river, which we followed a little within the woods, to *Sappokanikke*.* Gerrit having a sister and friends there we rested ourselves, and drank some good beer which refreshed us. We continued along the shore to the city, where we arrived in an hour in the evening, very much fatigued, having walked this day about forty miles. I must add, in passing through this island we sometimes encountered such a sweet smell in the air that we stood still, because we did not know what it was we were meeting."

"14th, Saturday. Being under sail, as I have said, it was so entirely calm that we could only float with the stream until we came to the *Schutters* island, where we obtained the tide again. It was now about four o'clock. In order to protect ourselves from the air, which was very cold and piercing, we crept under the sail, which was very old and full of holes. The tide having run out by daylight we came under sail again, with a good wind, which brought us to the city at about eight o'clock, for which we were glad, and returning thanks to God, betook ourselves to rest.

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* According to Judge Benson this was the Indian name of the point, afterward known as Greenwich, on the north side of the city.—*New York Historical Collections*, second series, 84.

"15th, Sunday. We went at noon to-day to hear the English minister, whose services took place after the Dutch church was out. There were not above twenty-five or thirty people in the church. The first thing that occurred was the reading of all their prayers and ceremonies out of the prayer-book, as is done in all Episcopal churches. A young man then went into the pulpit and commenced preaching, who thought he was performing wonders; but he had a little book in his hand out of which he read his sermon, which was about a quarter of an hour or half an hour long.* With this the services were concluded, at which we could not be sufficiently astonished. This was all that happened with us to-day."

From the year 1674, under Edmund Andross, commenced the new *regime* in New York. Andross was a public officer of ability, but well known for his imperious and despotic disposition. The people immediately petitioned their royal master, the Duke of York, for an Assembly of Representatives; but James, who regarded popular bodies as dangerous, refused their prayer, with the question: "What do they want with Assemblies? They have the Court of Sessions presided over by the Governor; or, if this is not enough, they can appeal to me!" Such was the English spirit of oppression a century before it was resisted in blood at Golden and Bunker Hills. Upon learning of this reply of Andross, Sir William Berkly, Governor of Virginia, "thanked God that there were neither free-schools nor printing-presses in the colony," fervently adding, "God keep us from both!"

Governor Andross, however—much as he may in after years have merited from the people of the Eastern Colonies the title of the "Tyrant of New England"—governed New York with wisdom and moderation. Desirous of establishing himself on a popular basis with the people, one of his first official acts was to appoint, in 1676, a native Hollander—Nicholas Meyer—Mayor of the city. The selection was a good one. Meyer was one of the most enterprising of traders, and a most respectable burgher; and although the duties of his office could not have been particularly onerous at a time when only *three hundred and one* names were recorded upon the list of tax-payers, yet what little he did was done honestly and *well*—a fact that cannot truthfully be stated of New York Mayors of later generations. Nor did Andross strive to be popular alone. Aware that no government can be a stable one unless placed on a basis of sound morality, he at once established ordinances for regulating the public morals and promoting the welfare of the city. "The city-gates were ordered to be closed at night at nine o'clock, and to be opened at daylight. The citizens were required to keep watch by turns, and were fined for absence or neglect of duty; and all profanity and drunkenness were strictly forbidden. Every citizen was ordered to provide himself with a good musket

* The only English minister in the whole province at this time was attached to the garrison at the City of New York. This was the Rev. Charles Wooley, a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1677. He came to New York in August, 1678, and left there for England in July, 1680. He was the author of a small volume with the title of *A Two Years' Journal in New York*, &c. published in 1701, and recently republished, with notes by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, in Mr. Gowans' interesting series of early works on the colonies.—*Note to the Labadists.*

or firelock with at least six charges of powder and ball, and to appear with good arms before the Captain's colors, at the first beating of the drum."

In 1677 the first native-born Mayor was appointed to the Mayoralty. This was Stephanus Van Cortlandt, a large property-holder, and after whom Cortlandt street is named. Under his administration seven public wells were placed in different parts of the city, chiefly as a protection against fires.

Meanwhile the necessity of conciliating the Iroquois—the most powerful Indian confederacy, at that time, in America—had received little or no attention from the people of New York or their Government. The first three English Governors of the colony, or rather lieutenants of the Duke of York, viz.: Colonels Nicholls, Lovelace, and Major, afterward Sir Edmund Andross, bestowed but inconsiderable attention upon the Five Nations, not seeming to appreciate either the importance of their trade or of their friendship. Still the moral hatred they had borne for the French inclined them rather to prefer the friendship of the English. But the Duke of York, in his affection for the Church of Rome, shutting his eyes to what unquestionably should have been the true policy of the English toward the Indians, had conceived the idea of handing the Confederates over to the Holy See, as converts to its forms, if not to its faith. Hence the efforts to mediate the peace between the Iroquois and the French of 1667, which were followed by invitations to the Jesuit missionaries from the English, to settle among the Confederates, and by persuasions to the latter to receive them. The Mohawks were either too wise, or too bitter in spirit toward the French, to listen to the proposal. But not so with the other nations of the alliance; and the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas opened their arms to the insidious stangers in holy garb, causing infinite mischief in after years, as will appear in the sequel.

This peace of 1667 continued several years, during which time both the English and French prosecuted their trade with the Indians to a great and profitable extent. The French, especially, evinced a degree of energy, and a spirit of enterprise, almost unexampled in the history of colonization—planting their trading-posts, under the lead of the adventurous La Salle, at all the commanding points of the great lakes, and across the country of the Illinois to the Mississippi; and stealing the hearts of the Indians through the arts of the crafty ministers of the order of Jesus, whom they sprinkled among the principal nations over the whole country of the exploration. By these bold advances deep into the interior, and the insiduous wiles which everywhere characterized their movements, the French acquired a decided advantage over the English colonists in the fur trade, which it was evidently their design exclusively to engross; while the direct tendency of the Duke of York's policy, originating in blindness and bigotry, was to produce exactly the same result.

The error was soon perceived by Colonel Dongan, who arrived in the colony as the successor of Major Andross, in 1683. Though his religious faith was in harmony with that of his royal master, he nevertheless possessed an enlarged understanding, with a disposition, as a Civil Governor, to look more closely after the interests of the crown than those of the crosier. He had not been long at the head of the colony before he perceived the mistakes of his predecessors in the conduct of its Indian relations. In fighting-men, the Five Nations at that time numbered ten times more than they did half a century afterward;* and the Governor saw at once their importance as a wall of separation between the English colonies and the French. He saw, also, the importance of their trade, which the Jesuit priests were largely influential in diverting to Canada. He saw that M. de Courcelles had erected a fort at Cadaraqui, within the territory of the Iroquois, on the north side of Lake Ontario,† and that La Salle had built a bark of ten tons upon that lake, and another of fifty upon Lake Erie, planting also a stockade at Niagara. He saw that the French were intercepting the trade of the English upon the lakes, and that the priests had succeeded in seducing numbers of the Mohawks and river Indians away from their own country, and planting their colonies upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the neighborhood of Montreal, through whose agency an illicit trade had been established with the City of Albany, by reason of which Montreal, instead of Albany, was becoming the principal depot of the Indian trade. He saw, in a word, the subtle followers of Ignatius Loyola were rapidly alienating the affections of the Confederates from the English and transferring them to the French, and that unless the policy respecting them was changed, the influence of the English would, at no distant day, be at an end with them. Nor had the priests confined their efforts simply to moral suasion; but, as though aiming to separate the Confederates from the English at a blow, and by a gulf so wide and deep as to be impassable, they had instigated them to commit positive hostilities upon the frontier settlements of Maryland and Virginia.

Having made himself thoroughly acquainted with these matters, Colonel Dongan lost no time in seeking to countervail the influence of the French, and to bring back the Indians to a cordial understanding with his own people. His instructions from home were to encourage the Jesuit missionaries. These he not only disregarded, but he ordered the missionaries away, and forbade the Five Nations to entertain them. It is true this order was never enforced to the letter, the priests, some of them at least, maintaining a foothold at several points of the Confederacy —dubious at times, certainly—but yet maintaining it for three-quarters

* Memoir of Dr. Colden, concerning the fur trade, presented to Governor Burnett in 1724.

† The site of Kingston, Canada West.

of a century afterward. Still, the measures of conciliation adopted by Colonel Dongan made a strong and favorable impression upon the Indians.

Availing himself of the difficulty between the Confederates and Virginia, consequent upon the outrages just adverted to as having been instigated by the priests, Colonel Dongan was instrumental in procuring a convention of the Five Nations, at Albany, in 1684, to meet Lord Howard, of Effingham, Governor of Virginia, at which he (Dongan) was likewise present. This meeting, or council, was attended by the happiest results. The difficulties with Virginia were adjusted, and a covenant made with Lord Howard for preventing further depredations.* But what was of yet greater importance, Colonel Dongan succeeded in completely gaining the affections of the Indians, who conceived for him the warmest esteem. They even asked that the arms of the Duke of York might be put upon their castles, a request which it need not be said was most readily complied with, since, should it afterward become necessary, the Governor might find it convenient to construe it into an act of at least partial submission to English authority, although it has been asserted that the Indians themselves looked upon the ducal insignia as a sort of charm that might protect them against the French.†

There was likewise another fortunate occurrence of events just at that time, which revived all the ancient animosity between the Iroquois and the French. While the conferences between Lord Howard and the Indians were yet in progress, a message was received from M. de la Barre, the Governor of Canada, complaining of the conduct of the Senecas in prosecuting hostilities against the Miamies and other western nations in alliance with the French, and thus interrupting their trade. Colonel Dongan communicated the message to the Iroquois chiefs, who retorted by charging the French with supplying their enemies with all their munitions of war. "Onontio‡ calls us children," said they, "and at the same time sends powder to our enemies to kill us!" This collision resulted in open war between the Iroquois and the French, the latter sending to France for powerful reinforcements, with the design of an entire subjugation of the former in the ensuing year. Meantime the French Catholics continued to procure letters from the Duke of York to his lieutenant commanding him to lay no obstacles in the way of the invaders. But these commands were again disregarded. Dongan apprised the Iroquois of the designs of the French, not only to march against them with a strong army, but simultaneously to bring down upon them the western Indians

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* Smith's *History of New York.*

† Colden's *History of the Five Nations.*

‡ The name by which the Iroquois were wont to speak of the French Governors of Canada.

in their interest. The English Governor also promised to assist them if necessary.

Thus by the wisdom and the strong sense of justice of Colonel Dongan, was the chain of friendship between the English and the Five Nations brightened and the most amicable relations re-established. Yet for the course he had taken, he fell under the displeasure of his bigoted master on his accession to the throne in 1685.

It is not, of course, within the purpose of this history to trace the progress of the long and cruel wars that succeeded the negotiations between Colonel Dongan and the Confederates. Briefly it may be said in respect to the expedition of M. de la Barre, that it failed by reason of sickness in his army at Cadaraqui, before crossing the lake. He was succeeded in the government of Canada by the Marquis Denonville, who invaded the Seneca country in 1687 with a powerful force, gaining, however, such a victory over the Indians in the Genessee Valley as led to an inglorious retreat. This invasion was speedily recompensed by the Confederates, who descended upon the French settlements of the St. Lawrence like a tempest, and struck a blow of terrible vengeance upon Montreal itself.

New York was at this time torn by the intestine commotions incident to the revolution which drove the Stuarts from the English throne, and ended the power of the Catholics in the colony. It was a consequence of these divisions that the English could afford the Indians no assistance in their invasion of Canada at that time, else that country would then doubtless have been wrested from the Crown of France. But the achievements of the Indians were, nevertheless, most important for the Colony of New York, the subjugation of which was at that precise conjuncture meditated by France, and a combined expedition, by land and sea, was undertaken for that purpose—Admiral Caffniere commanding the ships which sailed from Rochefort for New York, and the Count de Frontenac, who had succeeded Denonville, being the General of the land forces. On his arrival at Quebec, however, the Count beheld his province reduced to a field of devastation, and he was therefore constrained to abandon the enterprise.

Nor was Governor Dongan's administration in the government of the colony itself characterized by less wisdom than his dealings with the Indians. He was highly respected as Governor—being upright, discreet, and of accomplished manners, added to which his firm and judicious policy, and his steadfast integrity, soon won for him "the affections of his people, and made him one of the most popular of the Royal Governors." Two years previous to his arrival, the aldermen of New York, and the justices of the peace of the Court of Assize, in consequence of the tyranny of Andross, had petitioned the Duke that the people might be allowed to participate in the affairs of the government by the construction of a

General Assembly, in which they might be represented. Through the interposition of William Penn, who enjoyed the favor both of the King and the Duke, the point was yielded, and Colonel Dongan was instructed to allow the people a voice in the government. Greatly to the joy of the inhabitants, therefore, who had become turbulent, if not disaffected, under the rule of Andross, writs were issued to the sheriffs summoning the freeholders to choose representatives to meet the new Governor in assembly. He thus gave the colony its first legislative assembly, which, meeting for the first time in the City of New York, on the 17th of October, 1683, consisted of the Governor, ten councillors, and seventeen representatives elected by the people. Henceforth, and up to the period of the American Revolution, the history of New York City as the legislative capital of the province, consists, for the most part, in a series of bitter scenes between the Assembly and the Royal Governors. The first act of the Assembly was to give to the province its first "Charter of Liberties," by which it was ordained "that supreme legislative power should forever reside in the Governor, Council, and people met in General Assembly; that every freeholder and freeman might vote for representatives without restraint; that no freeman should suffer but by judgment of his peers, and that all trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax should be assessed on any pretense whatever but by the consent of the Assembly; that no seaman or soldier should be quartered on the inhabitants against their will; that no martial law should exist; and that no person professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion in matters of religion." Three assemblies, at least, were to be held every year; and should any seat become vacant, a new election was to be at once ordered by the Governor. One of the first acts of the Assembly was to divide the Province into twelve counties—New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Westchester, Duchess, Dukes, and Cornwall—all of which names, with the exception of the last two, still remain at the present day.

The Assembly, also, lost no time in bettering the condition of the city itself. "New police regulations were at once established. Sunday laws were enacted; tavern-keepers were forbidden to sell liquor except to travelers, citizens to work, children to play in the streets, and Indians and negroes to assemble on the Sabbath. Twenty cartmen were licensed by the municipal authorities, on condition that they should repair the highways gratis whenever called on by the Mayor, and cart the dirt from the streets, which the inhabitants were required to sweep together every Saturday afternoon beyond the precincts of the city. The rate of cartage was fixed at three pence per load to any place within the bounds of the city; beyond which, the price was doubled. The cartmen, however, soon proved refractory, and a few weeks after, the

license system was abandoned, and all persons, with the exception of slaves, were allowed to act as cartmen.

"On the 8th of December, 1683, the city was divided into six wards. The First or South Ward, beginning at the river, extended along the west side of Broad to Beaver street; thence westward along Beaver street to the Bowling Green; thence southward by the fort to Pearl street; and thence westward along the river-shore to the place of starting. The Second or Dock Ward, also beginning at the river at the southeast corner of Pearl and Broad streets, extended along the shore to Hanover Square; thence northward through William to Beaver street; thence along Beaver to Broad street; thence back through Broad to the river-shore. The Third or East Ward formed a sort of triangle, beginning at the corner of Pearl and Hanover Square, and extending along the shore to the Half-Moon Fort at the foot of Wall street; thence stretching along Wall to the corner of William, and thence returning along the east side of William to the river. The Fourth or North Ward, beginning at the northwest corner of William and Beaver streets, extended through the former to the corner of Wall; thence westerly along the palisades to a line a little beyond Nassau street; thence southerly to Beaver street; thence easterly along Beaver to the first-named point. The Fifth or West Ward, beginning at the junction of the Fourth Ward with Beaver street, extended northerly along the boundary line of the latter to Wall street; thence along the palisades to Broadway; thence southerly to Beaver street; thence easterly to the point of starting. The Sixth or Out Ward comprised all the farms and plantations outside the city walls, including the Town of Harlem. Each of these wards was authorized to elect an alderman and councilman annually to represent them in the city government. The Governor and Council retained the appointment of the Mayor in their own hands; it was not, indeed, until long after the Revolution that this office was made elective by the people.

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"In 1686, the Dongan Charter was granted to the city. This instrument, which still forms the basis of the municipal rights and privileges of New York, confirmed the franchises before enjoyed by the corporation, and placed the city government on a definite footing. The Governor retained the appointment of the mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, high-constable, town-clerk, and clerk of the market in his own hands; leaving the aldermen, assistants, and petty constables to be chosen by the people at the annual election on St. Michael's Day. This charter which was dated April 22, 1686, declared that New York City should thenceforth comprise the entire Island of Manhattan, extending to the low-water mark of the bays and rivers surrounding it.

"In the same year, the city received a new seal from the home government. This still preserved the beaver of the Dutch, with the

addition of a flour-barrel and the arms of a wind-mill, in token of the prevailing commerce of the city. The whole was supported by two Indian chiefs, and encircled with a wreath of laurel, with the motto, Sigillum Civitatis Novi Eboraci.

"In 1687, Stephanus Van Cortlandt was again appointed Mayor. During his Mayoralty, it was determined to enlarge the city by building a new street in the river along the line of Water street, between Whitehall and Old Slip, and water-lots were sold by the corporation on condition that the purchasers should make the street toward the water, and protect it by a substantial wharf from the washing of the tide, in imitation of Waal or sheet pile street, extending along the line of Pearl street, from Broad to William streets, in front of the City Hall. It was not, however, until some years after, that this scheme was carried into effect, and the projected street rescued from the waters.

"Measures were also taken to enlarge the city still further by placing the fortifications further out, and laying out Wall street thirty-six feet wide. The fortifications, indeed, were now worse than useless. The palisades which had been erected in 1653 along the line of Wall street had fallen down, the works were in ruins, the guns had disappeared from the artillery-mounts, and the ditches and stockades were in a ruinous condition. Their immediate removal was determined on and ordered, but was delayed by the revolution which followed soon after. When war broke out between France and England in 1693, they were again repaired to be in readiness for the expected French invasion, and it was not until 1699 that their demolition was finally accomplished. Wall street, however, was laid out immediately, and it was not long before it became one of the most important thoroughfares in the city. During the same year, a valuation was made of the city property, which was estimated on the assessor's books at £78,231."*

Many other municipal regulations concerning hucksters, bakers, butchers, and others, were established—then esteemed of vital importance, but a repetition of which would only weary. A single item, however, deserves notice, as illustrating the punishments practiced in olden times. A pillory, cage, whipping-post,† and ducking-stool, were set up in the vicinity of the City Hall, and hither were brought all vagrants, slanderers, pilferers, and truant children, to be exposed to the public gaze, and to receive such chastisement as their offenses might warrant. It is to be regretted, in view of the present army of such people in the City of New York, that a similar ordinance is not now in force.

Meanwhile, William and Mary had been proclaimed King and Queen

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* Miss Mary L. Booth's *History of New York.*

† A whipping-post, put up in 1630, is still standing on the Village Green, in Fairfield, Connecticut.

of England in place of James II, who, having abdicated the throne, had become a wanderer on the Continent. This change in the home government from a Catholic to a Protestant one, necessitated a corresponding change in the Governor at New York. Colonel Sloughter was, accordingly, commissioned to the government of New York in January, 1689, but did not arrive until the 19th of March, 1691. The selection of Sloughter was not fortunate. According to Smith, he was utterly destitute of every qualification for government: licentious in his morals, avaricious, and base. Leisler, who had administered the government after a fashion, since the departure of Dongan, intoxicated with power, refused to surrender the government to Sloughter, and attempted to defend the fort, in which he had taken refuge, against him. Finding it expedient, however, very soon to abandon the fort, he was arrested, and, with his son-in-law, Milburne, tried and executed for treason. Still, on the whole, the conduct of Leisler during the revolution had been considered patriotic, and his sentence was deemed very unjust and cruel. Indeed, his enemies could not prevail upon Sloughter to sign the warrant for his execution until, for that purpose, they got him intoxicated. It was a murderous affair. Sloughter's administration was short and turbulent. He died July 23d, 1691.

On the death of Sloughter, Richard Ingoldsby, the captain of an independent company, was made president of the council, to the exclusion of Joseph Dudley, who, but for his absence in Boston, would have had the right to preside, and upon whom the government would have devolved. But although Dudley very soon returned to New York, he did not contest the authority of Ingoldsby, who administered the government until the arrival of Colonel Fletcher, with a commission as governor, in August, 1692. In the preceding month of June, Ingoldsby met the Five Nations in council at Albany, on which occasion they declared their enmity to the French in the strongest possible terms. Their expressions of friendship for the English were also renewed. "Brother Corlaer," said the sachem, "we are all the subjects of one great king and queen; we have one head, one heart, one interest, and are all engaged in the same war." They nevertheless condemned the English for their inactivity, "telling them that the destruction of Canada would not make one summer's work, against their united strength, if ingeniously exerted."

In conducting the Indian affairs of the colony, Colonel Fletcher took Major Schuyler into his councils, and was guided by his opinions. "No man understood those affairs better than he; and his influence over the Indians was so great, that whatever Quider,* as they called him, either recommended or disapproved, had the force of a law. This power over them was supported, as it had been obtained, by repeated offices of

* Quider, the Iroquois pronunciation of Peter. Having no labials in their language, they could not say Peter.

kindness, and his single bravery and activity in the defense of his country." * Through the influence of Quider, therefore, Colonel Fletcher was placed upon the best footing with the Indians, by whom was conferred upon him the name of Cayenguinago, or "The Great Swift Arrow," as a compliment for a remarkably rapid journey made by him from New York to Schenectady on a sudden emergency.†

Desparing, at length, of accomplishing a peace with the Five Nations, Count Frontenac determined to strike a blow upon the Mohawks in their own country—which purpose was securely executed in the month of February, 1693. For once this vigilant race of warriors were taken by surprise, two of their castles being entered and captured without much resistance—the warriors of both having been mostly absent at Schenectady. On assailing the third, or upper castle, however, the invaders met with a different reception. The warriors within, to the number of forty, were engaged in a war-dance, preparatory to some military expedition upon which they were about entering; and though inferior in force, yet they yielded not without a struggle, nor until thirty of the assailants had been slain. About three hundred of the Mohawks were taken prisoners in this invasion, in respect to which the people of Schenectady have been charged with bad conduct. They neither aided their neighbors, nor even apprised them of the approach of danger, although informed of the fact in due season themselves. But Quider, the fast friend of the Indians, took the field at the head of the militia of Albany, immediately on hearing of the invasion, and harassed the enemy sharply during their retreat. Indeed, but for the protection of a snow-storm, and the accidental resting of a cake of ice upon the river, forming a bridge for their escape, the invaders would have been cut off.

Fletcher was by profession a soldier, a man of strong passions and inconsiderable talents; very active, and equally avaricious. His administration was so energetic and successful the first year, that he received large supplies, and a vote of special thanks from the Assembly. He was a bigot, however, to the Episcopal form of church government, and labored hard to introduce into the province the English language, to encourage English churches and schools. On this account he was soon involved in a violent controversy with the Assembly, who were at first inclined rather to favor the Dutch churches. But in 1693 an Assembly was found, who, more pliant, passed an act "Providing for the building of a church in the City of New York, in which was to be settled a Protestant minister"—the word Protestant being tacitly understood to mean *Episcopal*. This was the origin of Trinity Church,‡ which was forthwith

* Smith's *History of New York.*

† Colden's *Six Nations.*

‡ This church was destroyed by fire in 1776, and lay in ruins until 1788, when it was rebuilt. In 1839 it was torn down to build the present edifice, which was opened in 1846.

begun in 1696, and finished and opened for public worship in February, 1697, under the auspices of the Rev. William Vesey. The church itself, which was a very insignificant building, resembled its present namesake on the same site in nothing save in having a very tall spire. Certainly it did not resemble the present Trinity in having set apart in it (as it did) a pew for the Mayor and Common Council, to whom a sermon was annually preached, on the day of the city election. What a pity it is, however, that this good old custom cannot be revived—for, of all persons, who need religious instruction more than our worthy Mayors and Aldermen? Was the setting apart of this pew intended as a delicate piece of sarcasm, or were the city officials of that day really men of a different stamp?

Fletcher was succeeded by Richard, Earl of Bellamont, who was appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, in May, 1695, but did not arrive in New York until May, 1698. He was appointed by King William with a special view to the suppression of piracy in the American seas—New York, at that time, having been a commercial depot of the pirates, with whom Fletcher, and other officers in the colony, had a good understanding. Kidd was fitted out with a ship by Bellamont, Robert Livingstone, and others, including several English noblemen. Turning pirate himself, Kidd was afterward arrested in Boston by the Earl, and sent home for trial. The Earl was a nobleman of polite manners, a great favorite of King William, and very popular among the people both of New York and Boston. He had been dissipated in his youth, but afterward became penitent and devout. He died in New York, in March, 1701.

On the death of Earl Bellamont, the government devolved upon Mr. Nanfan, the Lieutenant-Governor, until the appointment of Lord Cornbury, in 1702. A public dinner was given in honor of his arrival; he was presented with the freedom of the city, in a gold box; and a congratulatory address was tendered him by the city authorities. It was not long, however before his true character appeared. He was a very tyrannical, base, and profligate man, and was appointed to the government of New York by King William, as a reward for his desertion of King James, in whose army he was an officer. He was a savage bigot and an ungentlemanly tyrant. He imprisoned several clergymen who were dissenters, and robbed the Rev. M. Hubbard, of Jamaica, of his house and glebe. He was wont to dress himself in women's clothes, and thus patrol the fort. His avarice was insatiable, and his disposition that of a savage.

The only things worthy of note during his administration are: First, the establishment by the corporation of the city of a free grammar-school; and second, the raging of a malignant epidemic, which strongly resembled the yellow-fever. The terror-stricken citizens fled to the shores

of New Jersey and Staten Island; and Lord Cornbury, with his council, took up his quarters at Jamaica, Long Island. But the inhabitants of New York had a worse plague, than even the pestilence, in Cornbury; who, at length, becoming an object of universal abhorrence and detestation, was superseded by Queen Anne, who, in the autumn of 1708, appointed John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, in his place.

Lovelace, however, did not long enjoy either the cares or pleasures of office. He died on the 5th of May in the next year, of a disorder contracted in crossing the ferry at his first arrival in New York. On the death of his lordship, the government once more devolved upon Richard Ingoldsby, the Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, until the arrival of Governor Hunter, in the summer of 1710.

Hunter was a Scotchman, and when a boy, an apprentice to an apothecary. Leaving his master, he entered the army, and being a man of wit and beauty, gained promotion, and also the hand of Lady Hay. In 1707 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, but being captured by the French on his voyage out, on his return to England he was appointed to the government of New York and New Jersey, then united in the same jurisdiction. Governor Hunter was the man who brought over the three thousand Palatines from Germany, by whom the German settlements in the interior of New York and Pennsylvania were founded. He administered the government of the colony "well and wisely," as was said to him in an affectionate parting address by the General Assembly, until the summer of 1719, when he returned to England, on leave of absence, as well on account of his health as to look after his private affairs. He intimated, upon his departure, that he might return to the government again, but did not. The chief command on his departure devolved on the Hon. Peter Schuyler, as the oldest member of the council, but only for a brief period. He, however, held a treaty with the Six Nations at Albany, which was considered satisfactory; yet it would have been more so, had his efforts to induce the Confederates to drive Joncaire, the artful agent of the French, out of their country, been successful. This Jesuit emissary had resided among the Senecas from the beginning of Queen Anne's reign. He had been adopted by them, and was greatly beloved by the Onondagas. He was incessant in his intrigues in behalf of the French, facilitating the missionaries in their progress through the country, and contributing greatly to the vacillating course of the Indians toward the English. Schuyler was aware of all this; but notwithstanding his own great influence over the Six Nations, he could not prevail upon them to discard their favorite. In other respects the government of Schuyler was marked by moderation, wisdom, and integrity.

About this period a "new market was established at the upper end of Broad street, between the City Hall and Exchange Place, and permission was given to the residents of the vicinity to erect stalls and sheds

to suit their convenience, under the direction of the Clerk of the Market. Country people were also permitted to sell meat at wholesale or retail, as they pleased, subject to the same supervision; and bakers were required to brand their loaves with their initials, under penalty of forfeiture of the bread. In the spring of the same year (1711) it was resolved that a meeting of the Common Council should be held at the City Hall on the first Friday of every month; and the treasurer was also ordered to purchase eighteen *rush*-bottomed chairs and an oval table for their accommodation."*

William Burnet, son of the celebrated prelate of that name who flourished in the reign of William and Mary, succeeded Hunter in the government of the colony, in the year 1720; and of all the colonial Governors of New York, with the exception of Colonel Dongan, his Indian and colonial policy was marked by the most prudent forecast and the greatest wisdom. Immediately after the peace of Utrecht a a brisk trade in goods for the Indian market was revived between Albany and Montreal, the Caughnawaga tribe of the Mohawks residing near Montreal serving as carriers. The chiefs of the Six Nations foresaw the evil and inevitable consequences to result from allowing that trade to pass round in that direction, inasmuch as the Indians would of course be drawn exclusively to Montreal for their supplies, to be received immediately at the hands of the French, and they cautioned the English authorities against it. Mr. Hunter had indeed called the attention of the General Assembly to the subject at an antecedent period; but no action was had thereon until after Mr. Burnet had assumed the direction of the colonial administration. The policy of the latter was at once to cut off an intercourse so unwise and dangerous with Montreal, and bring the entire Indian trade within the limits and control of New York. To this end an act was passed at his suggestion, subjecting the traders with Montreal to a forfeiture of their goods, and a penalty of one hundred pounds for each infraction of the law. It likewise entered into the policy of Mr. Burnet to win the confidence of the Caughnawagas, and reunite them with their kindred in their native valley. But the ties by which the Roman priesthood had bound them to the interests of the French, were too strong, and the efforts of the Governor were unsuccessful.

In furtherance of the design to grasp the Indian trade, not only of the Six Nations, but likewise that of the remoter nations of the upper lakes, a trading-post was established at Oswego in 1722. A trusty agent

* It is to this day quite a knotty question whether these "rush-bottomed chairs" were designed merely to encourage "plain Republican simplicity," or whether there was not an intention to make the *damage* as small as possible, in case of the members throwing them at each other's heads—as is said to have been the case within the last few months.

was also appointed to reside at the great council-fire of the Onondagas, the central nation of the Confederates. A congress of several of the colonies was held at Albany to meet the Six Nations, during the same year, which, among other distinguished men, was attended by Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, Sir William Keith, of Pennsylvania, and by Governor Burnet. At this council the chiefs stipulated that in their southern war expeditions they would not cross the Potomac, and in their marches against their southern enemies, their path was to lie westward of the great mountains—the Alleghanies meaning. Mr. Burnet again brightened the chain of friendship with them on the part of New York, notwithstanding the adverse influences exerted by the Chevalier Joncaire, the Jesuit agent residing alternately among the Senecas and Onondagas.

The beneficial effects of Mr. Burnet's policy were soon apparent. In the course of a single year more than forty young men plunged boldly into the Indian country as traders, acquired their languages, and strengthened the precarious friendship existing between the English and the more distant nations; while tribes of the latter previously unknown to the colonists, even from beyond the Michilimackinac, visited Albany for purposes of traffic.

The establishment of an English post at Oswego was a cause of high displeasure to the French, who, in order to intercept the trade from the upper lakes that would otherwise be drawn thither, and thus be diverted from Montreal, determined to repossess themselves of Niagara, rebuild the trading-house at that point, and repair their dilapidated fort. The consent of the Onondagas to this measure was obtained by the Baron de Longueil, who visited their country for that purpose, through the influence of Joncaire and his Jesuit associates. But the other members of the Confederacy, disapproving of the movement, declared the permission given to be void, and dispatched messengers to Niagara to arrest the procedure. With a just appreciation of the importance of such an encroachment upon their territory, the Confederates met Mr. Burnet in council upon the subject at Albany in 1727. "We come to you howling," said the chiefs; "and this is the reason why we howl, that the Governor of Canada encroaches upon our land and builds thereon." Governor Burnet made them a speech on the occasion beautifully expressed in their own figurative language, which gave them great satisfaction.* The chiefs declaring themselves unable to resist this invasion of the French, entreated the English for succor, and formally surrendered their country to the great king, "to be protected by him for their use," as heretofore stated. But Governor Burnet being at that period involved in political difficulties with an Assembly too short-sighted

* Smith's *History of New York.*

or too factious to appreciate the importance of preserving so able a head to the colonial government, was enabled to do nothing more for the protection of the Indians than to erect a small military defense at Oswego; and even this work of necessity he was obliged to perform at his own private expense. Meantime the French completed and secured their works at Niagara without molestation.

In the course of the same year, having been thwarted in his enlarged and patriotic views, by several successive assemblies, Mr. Burnet, the ablest and wisest of the colonial administrators, retired from the government of New York, and accepted that of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His departure, personally, was universally regretted. He was not only a man of letters, but of wit—a believer in the Christian religion, yet not a serious professor. A variety of amusing anecdotes has been related of him. When on his way from New York to assume the government at Boston, one of the committee who went from that town to meet him on the borders of Rhode Island, was the facetious Colonel Tailer. Burnet complained of the long graces that were said before meals by clergymen on the road, and asked when they would shorten. Tailer answered: "The graces will increase in length till you come to Boston; after that they will shorten till you come to your government of New Hampshire, where your excellency will find no grace at all."

Colonel John Montgomery succeeded Mr. Burnet in the government of the colonies of New York and New Jersey in the month of April, 1728. He was a Scotchman and bred a soldier. But quitting the profession of arms, he went into parliament, serving, also, for a time, as groom of the bed-chamber to his majesty George II, before his accession to the throne. He was a man of moderate abilities and slender literary attainments. He was too good-natured a man to excite enmities; and his administration was one of tranquil inaction. He was an indolent man, and had not character enough to inspire opposition.

The French perceiving this, and enraged at the erection of a fort at Oswego, were now menacing that post. The new governor thereupon met the Six Nations in council at Albany, to renew the covenant chain, and engage them in the defense of that important station. Large presents were distributed among them, and they declared their willingness to join the reinforcements detached from the independent companies for that service. Being apprised of these preparations, the French desisted from their threatened invasion.

Much of the opposition to the administration of Governor Burnet had been fomented and kept alive by the Albanians, who, by the shrewdness of his Indian policy, and the vigorous measures by which he had enforced it, had been interrupted in their illicit trade in Indian goods with Montreal, and also by the importers of those goods residing in the City

of New York. Sustained, however, by his council-board, and by the very able memoir of Doctor Colden upon that subject, Mr. Burnet, as the reader has already been apprised, had succeeded in giving a new and more advantageous character to the inland trade, while the Indian relations of the colony had been placed upon a better footing, in so far, at least, as the opportunities of the French to tamper with them had been measurably cut off. But in December of the succeeding year, owing to some intrigues that were never clearly understood, all these advantages were suddenly relinquished by an act of the Crown repealing the measures of Mr. Burnet; reviving, in effect, the execrable trade of the Albanians, and thus at once reopening the door of intrigue between the French and the Six Nations, which had been so wisely closed.

The three principal events, however, of Montgomery's administration affecting the city itself, were the grant of an amended city charter in 1730, by which the jurisdiction of the city was fixed to begin at King's Bridge, the establishment of a line of stages to run between New York and Philadelphia once a fortnight during the winter months, and the founding of the first public library.

For more than a century there had been no public library in the city, but in the year 1729 some sixteen hundred and twenty-two volumes were bequeathed by the Rev. John Millington, rector of Newington, England, to the "Venerable Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," by whom the books were in turn immediately presented to the city. To this number also was added another collection, the gift of the Rev. John Sharp, chaplain to Lord Bellamont, when both collections, now one, was opened to the public as the "Corporation Library." The librarian dying soon after, the books were neglected until 1754, when a few public-spirited citizens founded the *Society Library*, at the same time adding the Corporation collection and depositing the whole in the City Hall. The undertaking prospered and in 1772 George III granted it a charter. During the Revolutionary struggle the library was neglected; but when peace was restored in 1783, the society revived their charter and again set themselves to work collecting those volumes that had been scattered and replacing those irretrievably lost by new ones. Their efforts were so far successful as to warrant them in erecting a library building on Nassau street, opposite the Dutch church, a building that for a long time was considered one of the finest specimens of architecture of which the city could boast. Thence it was removed to the Mechanics' Society building on Chambers street, where it remained until the completion of their new and fine edifice in 1840 on the corner of Broadway and Leonard street. This spot was next vacated and quarters were obtained for it in the new Bible House, Astor Place, whence, in 1857, it once more removed to its beautiful edifice in University Place, between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets. Such is a bird's-eye view of the first public library of New York, commenced one hundred and thirty-nine years ago.

On the decease of Colonel Montgomery, in 1731, the duties of the colonial executive were for a brief period exercised by Mr. Rip Van Dam, as President of the Douncil.* His administration was signalized by the memorable infraction of the treaty of Utrecht by the French, who then invaded the clearly-defined territory of New York, and built the fortress of St. Frederick, at Crown Point, a work which gave them the command of Lake Champlain—the highway between the English and French colonies. The pusillanimity evinced by the government of New York on the occasion of that flagrant encroachment upon its domains, excites the amazement of the retrospective reviewer. Massachusetts, alarmed at this advance of the rivals, if not natural enemies, of the English upon the settlement of the latter, first called the attention of the authorities of New York to the subject; but the information was received with the most provoking indifference. There was a regular military force in the colony abundantly sufficient, by a prompt movement, to repel the aggression, yet not even a remonstrance was uttered against it. With the exception of this infringement upon the territory of New York, nothing worthy of special mention occurred during the administration of Mr. Van Dam. In August, 1732, Colonel William Cosby arrived in New York as his successor.

The first act of the new Governor was one, which, having its rise at first in a mere personal quarrel, was destined to establish, for all time in America, the question of the liberty of the press. The act of the Governor here alluded to, was the institution of proceedings against Rip Van Dam to recover half of the salary which the latter had received during his occupation of the Governor's chair. The suit was decided against Van Dam, who was consequently suspended from the exercise of his functions as President of the Council. This unfair decision naturally aroused the indignation of the people, who gave vent to their feelings in squibs and lampoons hurled without mercy at the Governor and his party. These were, in turn, answered by the *New York Gazette*, a paper published by William Bradford in the interest of the Government; and the controversy finally grew so bitter that John Peter Zenger, a printer by trade, was induced, under the patronage, as was supposed, of Rip Van Dam, to start a new paper, the *New York Weekly Journal*—the columns of which were to be devoted to opposing the colonial administration of Governor Cosby. The columns of the new paper teemed with able and spicy articles assailing the acts of the Governor—written, probably, by William Smith and James Alexander, the two prominent lawyers of New York. The Governor, and those members of his council who were his satellites, were not long in bringing themselves

*Mr. Van Dam was an eminent merchant in the City of New York, "of a fair estate," says Smith, the historian, "though distinguished more for the integrity of his heart, than his capacity to hold the reins of government."

into the belief that these articles were actionable; and thus it happened that the *first great libel suit tried in this city* was instituted by the Government, in 1734, against Zenger. The latter, in a pamphlet which he wrote afterward upon his trial, quaintly says:* "As there was but one Printer in the Province of New York that printed a public News Paper, I was in Hopes, if I undertook to publish another, I might make it worth my while, and I soon found that my Hopes were not groundless. My first paper was printed November 15th, 1733, and I continued printing and publishing of them (I thought to the satisfaction of every body) till the January following, when the Chief Justice was pleased to animadvert upon the Doctrine of Libels in a long charge given in that term to the Grand Jury."

Zenger was thereupon imprisoned on Sunday, the 17th of November, 1734, by virtue of a warrant from the Governor and Council; and a concurrence of the House of Representatives in the prosecution was requested. The House, however, declined by laying the request of the Council upon the table. The Governor and Council then ordered the libelous papers to be burned by the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory. But both the common whipper and the common hangman were officers of the Corporation, not of the Crown, and they declined officiating at the illumination. The papers were therefore burned by the Sheriff's negro servant at the order of the Governor.† An ineffectual attempt was next made to procure an indictment against Zenger, but the

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*This pamphlet, which is exceedingly rare, is a large 8vo. (5½ x 9½ inches) of 39 pages. It is entitled: "*A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New York Weekly Journal:—New York Printed: Lancaster re-printed, and sold by W. Dunlap, at the New Printing Offices, Queen Street,* 1736.

† In the pamphlet before alluded to, Zenger gives the following account of this proceeding:

"At a council held at Fort George in New York the 2d of November, 1734, present, His Excellency William Cosby, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, &c., Mr. Clark, Mr. Harrison, Dr. Colden" [a note says Dr. Colden was that day at Esopus, ninety miles away], "Mr. Livingston, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Cortlandt, Mr. Lane, Mr. Horsmanden:

"Whereas, By an order of the Board of this day, some of John Peter Zenger's journals, entitled the *New York Weekly Journal*, Nos. 7, 47, 48, 49, were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory of this city, on Wednesday, the 6th inst., between the hours of eleven and twelve, It is therefore ordered that the Mayor and Magistrates of this city do attend at the burning of the several papers or journals aforesaid, numbered as above-mentioned.

"FRED. MORRIS, *D. Cl. Con.*

"To ROBERT LURTING, Esq., *Mayor of the City of New York, &c.*"

(The Aldermen protested vigorously against the execution of this order, and refused to instruct the Sheriff to execute it. The Sheriff burned the papers, however, or "*delivered them into the hands of his own negro and ordered him to put them into the fire, which he did.*"

Grand Jury refused to find a bill. The Attorney-General was then directed to file no information against him for printing the libels, and he was consequently kept in prison until another term. His counsel offered exceptions to the commissions of the judges, which the latter not only refused to hear, but excluded his counsel, Messrs. Smith and Alexander, from the bar. Zenger then obtained other counsel—John Chambers of New York, and Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia. The trial at length came on and excited great interest. The truth, under the old English law of libel, could never be given in evidence, and was of course excluded on the present trial. Hamilton, nevertheless, tried the case with consummate ability. He showed the jury that they were the judges as well of the law as the fact, and Zenger was acquitted. "The jury," says Zenger in relating the result of the trial, "withdrew, and in a small time returned, and being asked by the clerk whether they were agreed upon their verdict and whether John Peter Zenger was guilty of printing and publishing the libels in the information mentioned, they answered by Thomas Hunt, their foreman, NOT GUILTY, upon which there were three huzzas in the hall, which was crowded with people, and the next day I was discharged from imprisonment."

Immediately after the trial the Corporation voted the freedom of the city in a magnificent gold box* to Andrew Hamilton "for the remarkable service done to this city and colony, by his defense of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press."

Twenty years afterward, however, the Government organ itself fell under the displeasure of the reigning powers. Upon the relinquishment of his paper in 1743, it was resumed by James Parker under the double title of the New York *Gazette and Weekly Post Boy*. In 1753, ten years afterward, Parker took a partner by the name of William Wayman. But neither of the partners, nor both of them together, possessed the indomitable spirit of John Peter Zenger. Having in March in 1756, published an article reflecting upon the people of Ulster and Orange Counties, the Assembly, entertaining a high regard for the majesty of the people, took offense thereat, and both the editors were taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms. What the precise nature of the insult upon the sovereign people of those counties was, does not appear. But the editors behaved in a craven manner. They acknowledged their fault begged

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* This gold box was five ounces and a half in weight and inclosed the seal of the said Freedom. On its lid was engraved the arms of the City of New York and these mottoes: On the outer part of the lid, DEMERSA LEGES—LIMEFACTA LIBERTAS—HŒC TANDEM EMERGUNT. On the inner side of the lid, NON NUMMIS—VIRTUTE PARATUR. On the front of the rim, ITA CUIQUE EVENIAT, UT DE REPUBLICA MERUIT. "Which freedom and box," naively adds Zenger, "was presented in the manner that had been directed, and gratefully accepted by the said Andrew Hamilton, Esquire."

pardon of the House, and paid the costs of the proceedings, in addition to all which they gave up the name of the author. He proved to be none other than the Rev. Hezekiah Watkins, a missionary to the County of Ulster, residing at Newburg. The reverend gentleman was accordingly arrested, brought to New York, and voted guilty of a high misdemeanor and contempt of the authority of the House. Of what persuasion was this Mr. Watkins does not appear. But neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor Hugh Latimer would have betrayed the right of free discussion as he did by begging the pardon of the House, standing to receive a reprimand, paying the fees, and promising to be more circumspect in future—for the purpose of obtaining his discharge. This case affords the most singular instance of the exercise of the doubtful power of punishing for what are called contempts on record. A court has unquestionably a right to protect itself from indignity while in session, and so has a legislative body, although the power of punishing for such an offense without trial by jury, is now gravely questioned. But for a legislative body to extend the mantle of its protection over its constituency in such a matter is an exercise of power of which, even in the annals of the Star Chamber, when presided over by Archbishop Laud, it is difficult to find a parallel. Sure it is that a people, then or now, who would elect such members to the Legislature deserve nothing else than contempt. From the establishment, however, of the independence of the country until the present day there has been no attempt to fetter the press by censors or by law, while the old English law of libel, which prevailed until the beginning of the present century, has been so modified as to allow the truth in all cases to be given in evidence. For the attainment of this great end the country is indebted, more than to all other men, to the early and bosom friend of the late venerable Dr. Nott—Alexander Hamilton.

At length the incessant quarrels of the weak and avaricious Cosby with the people and their representatives was suddenly terminated by his death in March, 1736. On his decease, Mr. George Clarke, long a member of the Council, after a brief struggle with Mr. Van Dam for the presidency, succeeded to the direction of the government, and, being shortly afterward commissioned as Lieutenant-Governor, continued at the head of the colonial administration from the autumn of 1736 to that of 1743. Mr. Clarke was remotely connected by marriage with the family of Lord Clarendon, having been sent over as Secretary of the colony in the reign of Queen Anne. Being, moreover, a man of strong common sense and of uncommon tact, and by reason of his long residence in the colony, and the several official stations he had held, well acquainted with its affairs, his administration—certainly, until toward its close—was comparatively popular, and, all circumstances considered, eminently successful. In the brief struggle for power between himself and Mr. Van Dam, the latter had been sustained by the popular party, while the

officers of the Crown and the partisans of Cosby, with few, if any exceptions, adhered to Mr. Clarke. This difficulty, however, had been speedily ended by a royal confirmation of the somewhat doubtful authority assumed by Mr. Clarke. His own course, moreover, on taking the seals of office, was conciliatory. In his first speech to the General Assembly, he referred in temperate language to the unhappy divisions which had of late disturbed the colony, and which he thought it was then a favorable moment to heal. The English flour-market having been overstocked by large supplies furnished from the other colonies, the attention of the Assembly was directed to the expediency of encouraging domestic manufactures in various departments of industry. To the Indian affairs of the colony Mr. Clarke invited the special attention of the Assembly. The military works of Fort Hunter being in a dilapidated condition, and the object of affording protection to the Christian settlements through the Mohawk Valley having been accomplished, the Lieutenant-Governor suggested the erection of a new fort at the carrying-place between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek,* leading into Oneida Lake, and thence through the Oswego River into Lake Ontario; and the transfer of the garrison from Fort Hunter to this new and commanding position. He likewise recommended the repairing of the block-house at Oswego, and the sending of smiths and other artificers into the Indian country, especially among the Senecas.†

During the greater part of the year 1738—if we except the establishing of a quarantine on Bedloe's Island and the opening of Rector street—but little attention was paid to local affairs—the principal historical incident of that year being the memorable contested election between

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* The site, afterward, of Fort Stanwix, now the opulent town of Rome.

† In the course of this session of the General Assembly, Chief Justice De Lancey, Speaker of the Legislative Council, announced that his duties in the Supreme Court would render it impossible for him to act as Speaker through the session. It was therefore ordered that the oldest Councillor present should thenceforward act as Speaker. Under this order, Dr. Cadwallader Colden first came to the chair.

On the twenty-sixth of October, the Council resolved that they would hold their sittings in the common council chamber of the City Hall. The House immediately returned a message that they were holding their sessions, and should continue to hold them, in that chamber; and that it was conformable to the constitution that the Council, in its legislative capacity, should sit as a distinct and separate body. During the same session, also, the Council having sent a message to the House by the hand of a deputy-clerk, a message was transmitted back, signifying that the House considered such a course disrespectful. Until that time messages had been conveyed between the Houses, with bills, resolutions, &c., by the hands of their members respectively. The House considered the sending of a clerk an innovation upon their privileges; and Colonel Phillipse, Mr. Verplank, and Mr. Johnson were appointed a committee to wait upon the Council and demand satisfaction. The Council healed the matter by a conciliatory resolution, declaring that no disrespect had been intended.

Adolphe Philipse and Gerret Van Horne, in connection with which, owing to the extraordinary skill and eloquence of Mr. Smith, father of the historian, and of counsel for Van Horne, the Hebrew freeholders of the City of New York, from which place both parties claimed to have been returned to the Assembly, were most unjustly disfranchised, on the ground of their religious creed, and their votes rejected. The colony was greatly excited by this question, and the persuasive powers exerted by Mr. Smith are represented to have been wonderful—equaling, probably, if not surpassing, those of Andrew Hamilton, four years previously, in the great libel case of Zenger—and possibly not excelled even by Patrick Henry a few years afterward, when he dethroned the reason of the court, and led captive the jury, in the great tobacco case in Virginia.

The years 1738 and 1739, were marked by increasing political excitement; and the dividing line of parties, involving the great principles of civil liberty on the one side and the prerogatives of the Crown on the other, were more distinctly drawn, perhaps, than at any antecedent period. The administrations of the earlier English Governors, Nicholls and Lovelace, were benevolent and almost parental. Andross, it is true, was a tyrant; and during his administration parties were formed, as in England, upon the mixed questions of politics and religion, which dethroned the last and most bigoted of the Stuarts, and brought William and Mary upon the throne. Dongan, however, the last of the Stuart Governors in New York, although a Roman Catholic, was nevertheless mild in the administration of the government, and a gentleman in his feelings and manners. It was upon his arrival in the autumn of 1683, that the freeholders of the colony, as we have seen, were invested with the right of choosing representatives to meet the Governor in General Assembly. For nearly twenty years subsequent to the revolution of 1689, the colony was torn by personal, rather than political factions, having their origin in the controversy which compassed the judicial murder of the unhappy Leisler and his son-in-law, Milburne. These factions dying out in the lapse of years, other questions arose, the principal of which was that important one which always, sooner or later, springs up in every English colony—involving, on the one hand, as I have already remarked, the rights of the people, and on the other the claims of the Crown. Invariably, almost, if not quite, the struggle is originated upon some question of revenue—either in the levying thereof, or in its disposition, or both. Thus in the origin of those political parties in New York, which continued with greater or less acrimony until the separation from the parent country, Sloughter and Fletcher had both endeavored to obtain grants of revenue to the Crown for life, but had failed. Subsequently grants had been occasionally made to the officers of the Crown for a term of years; but latterly, especially during the administration of Governor Cosby, the General Assembly had grown more

refractory upon the subject—pertinaciously insisting that they would vote the salaries for the officers of the Crown only with the annual supplies. This was a principle which the Governors, as the representatives of the Crown, felt bound to resist, as being an infringement of the royal prerogative. Henceforward, therefore, until the colony cast off its allegiance, the struggle in regard to the revenue and its disposition, was almost perpetually before the people, in one form or another; and in some years, owing to the obstinacy of the representatives of the Crown on one side, and the inflexibility of the representatives of the people on the other, supplies were not granted at all. Mr. Clarke, although he had the address to throw off, or to evade, the difficulty, for the space of two years, was nevertheless doomed soon to encounter it. Accordingly, in his speech to the Assembly at the autumnal session of 1738, he complained that another year had elapsed without any provision being made for the support of his Majesty's government in the province—the neglect having occurred by reason of "a practice not warranted by the usage of any former General Assemblies." He therefore insisted strongly upon the adoption of measures for the payment of salaries; for the payment of public creditors; and for the general security of the public credit by the creation of a sinking-fund for the redemption of the bills of the colony.

The Assembly was refractory. Instead of complying with the demands of the Lieutenant-Governor, the House resolved unanimously that they would grant no supplies upon that principle; and in regard to a sinking fund for the redemption of the bills of credit afloat, they refused any other measure than a continuance of the existing excise. These spirited and peremptory resolutions gave high offense to the representative of the Crown; and on the day following their adoption, the Assembly was summoned to the fort, and dissolved by a speech, declaring the said resolutions "to be such presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented steps that he could not look upon them but with astonishment, nor could he with honor suffer their authors to sit any longer."

The temper of the new Assembly, summoned in the spring of the succeeding year, 1739, was no more in unison with the desires of the Lieutenant-Governor than that of the former. The demand for a permanent supply-bill was urged at several successive sessions, only to be met with obstinate refusals. The second session, held in the autumn, was interrupted in October, by a prorogation of several days, for the express purpose of affording the members leisure "to reflect seriously" upon the line of duty required of them by the exigencies of the country; for, not only was the Assembly resolutely persisting in the determination to make only annual grants of supplies, but they were preparing to trench yet further upon the royal prerogative, by insisting upon specific applications of the revenue, to be inserted in the bill itself. Meantime, on the 13th of October, the Lieutenant-Govenor brought the subject of his

differences with the Assembly formally before his privy council. In regard to the new popular movement of this Assembly, insisting upon a particular application of the revenues to be granted in the body of the act for the support of the government, the Lieutenant-Govenor said they had been moved to that determination by the example of New Jersey, where an act of that nature had lately been passed. He was unwilling to allow any encroachment upon the rights of the Crown. Yet, in consideration of the defenseless situation of the colony, he felt uneasy at such a turn of affairs, and not being disposed to revive old animosities, or to create new ones by another summary dissolution, he asked the advice of the council. The subject was referred to a committee, of which the Hon. Daniel Horsmanden, an old member of the council, was chairman. This gentleman was one of the most sturdy supporters of the royal prerogative; but, in consequence of the existing posture of affairs, and the necessity of a speedy provision for the public safety, the committee reported unanimously against a dissolution. They believed, also, that the Assembly, and the people whom they represented, had the disputed point so much at heart that it would be impossible to do business with them unless it was conceded; and besides, it was argued, should a dissolution take place, there was no reason for supposing that the next Assembly would be less tenacious in asserting the offensive principle. Since, moreover, the Governor of New Jersey had yielded the point, the committee advised the same course in New York.* The point *was* conceded; and the effect, for the moment, was to produce a better state of feeling in the Assembly. Supplies were granted, but only for the year; and various appropriations were made for placing the city and colony in a posture of defense.

But it is seldom that the wheels of revolution roll backward, and the concession which allowed the General Assembly to prescribe the application or disposition of the supplies they voted, ever before claimed as the legal and known prerogative of the Crown, appeased the popular party only for a very short time. Indeed, nothing is more certain, whether in monarchies or republics, than that the governed are never

*See the old minutes of the executive or privy council, in manuscript, in the Secretary of State's office in Albany. To avoid confusion hereafter, it may be well to state in this connection, that the Council acted in a two-fold capacity: first, as advisary; second, as legislative. "In the first," says Smith, in his chapter, entitled Political State, "they are a privy council to the Governor." When thus acting they are often called the executive or majesty's council. Hence, privy council and executive council are synonymous. During the session of the legislature, however, *the same council* sat (without the presence of the Governor) as a legislative council; and in such capacity exercised the same functions as the Senate of the present day—so far as regards the passing of laws. The journals of this last or legislative council have recently been published by the State of New York under admirable editorship and the supervision of Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan.

satisfied with concessions, while each successful demand only increases the popular clamor for more. Thus it was in the experience of Mr. Clarke. It is true, indeed, that the year 1740 passed without any direct collision upon the question of prerogative; although at the second short session of that year, the speech alleged the entire exhaustion of the revenue, and again demanded an ample appropriation for a term of years. But the controversy was reopened at the spring session of the following year—1741—on which occasion the Lieutenant-Governor delivered a speech, long beyond precedent, and enumerating the grievances of the Crown by reason of the continued encroachments of the General Assembly. The speech began by an elaborate review of the origin and progress of the difficulties that had existed between the representatives of the Crown and the Assembly, in respect to the granting of supplies, evincing —such, indeed, is the inference—a want of gratitude on the part of the latter, in view of the blessings which the colony had enjoyed under the paternal care of the Government since the revolution of 1688. But it was not in connection with the supplies, only, that the Assembly had invaded the rights of the Crown. It was the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to appoint the Treasurer. Yet the Assembly had demanded the election of that officer. Not satisfied with that concession, they had next claimed the right of choosing the Auditor-General. Failing in that demand, they had sought to accomplish their object by withholding the salary from that officer. These encroachments, he said, had been gradually increasing from year to year, until apprehensions had been seriously awakened in England "that the plantations are not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence on the Crown." He, therefore, admonished the Assembly to do away with such an impression "by giving to his Majesty such a revenue, and in such a manner, as will enable him to pay his own officers and servants," as had been done from the Revolution down to the year 1709 —during which period the colony was far less able to bear the burden than now."*

Thus early and deeply were those principles striking root in America, which John Hampden had asserted and poured out his blood to defend, in the great ship-money contest with Charles I—which brought that unhappy monarch to the block—and which—fulfilling the apprehensions of Mr. Clarke—thirty-five years afterward, separated the colonies from the British Crown —although in the answer of the House to the "insinuation of a suspicion" of a desire for independence, with real or affected gravity, they "vouched that not a single person in the colony had any such thoughts;" adding—"for under what government can we be better protected, or our liberties or properties so well secured?"

*Vide *Journals of the Colonial Assembly*, vol. 1, Hugh Gains' edition. This (1741) was the year in which the chapel, barracks, Secretary's office, &c., at Fort George (the Battery) were burnt, and the speech referred to in the text asked an apropriation for their rebuilding—but without success.

But the popularity of Mr. Clarke was rapidly on the wane. Chief Justice De Lancy, the master-spirit of the Council, having rather abandoned him, and attached himself to the popular party, managed to preserve a considerate coolness on the part of that body toward their executive head, while the House heeded but little his recommendations.

The only subject of local excitement, however, during the year 1741, was the celebrated plot supposed to have been discovered on the part of the negroes, to murder the inhabitants of New York, and ravage and burn the city—an affair which reflects little credit either upon the discernment or the humanity of that generation.

African slavery had existed from an early period in New Netherland. It was encouraged as the most certain and economical way of introducing slavery in a new country, where there was no surplus population. The slave-trade was brought into the Dutch Colony by the Dutch West India Company, and, shortly after its introduction, became a considerable and profitable branch of its shipping interest. A "prime slave" was valued from one hundred and twenty dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars, and below this price he could not profitably be purchased from Africa or the West Indies. In 1702, there were imported one hundred and sixty-five African slaves; in 1718, five hundred and seventeen. After that year, however, the traffic began to fall off, the natural increase being large.*

As far back as 1628, slaves constituted a portion of the population of New Amsterdam; and to such an extent had the traffic in them reached, that, in 1709, a slave-market was erected at the foot of Wall street, where all negroes who were to be hired or sold stood, in readiness for bidders. Their introduction into the colony was hastened by the colonial establishment of the Dutch in Brazil and upon the coast of Guinea, and also by the capture of Spanish and Portuguese prizes with Africans on board. The *Boere-knechts*, or servants, whom the settlers brought over with them from Holland, soon deserted their field-work for the fur traffic, thus causing European laborers to become scarce and high; and, as a natural result, slaves, by their cheapness, became one of the staples of the new country. In 1652, the Directors at Amsterdam removed the export duty of eight per cent., which had been hitherto paid by the colonists on tobacco. The passage-money to New Netherland was also lessened from fifty to thirty guilders; and besides trading to the

* Almost every family in the colony owned one or more negro servants; and among the richer classes their number was considered a certain evidence of their master's easy circumstances. About the year 1703—a period of prosperity in wealth and social refinement with the Dutch of New Amsterdam—the Widow Van Cortlandt held five male slaves, two female, and two children; Colonel De Peyster had the same number; William Beekman, two; Rip Van Dam, six; Mrs. Stuyvesant, five; Mrs. Kip, seven; David Provoostd, three, etc.

Brazils, the settlers were allowed "to sail to the coast of Angola and Africa to procure as many negroes as they might be willing to employ."*

Several outbreaks had already happened among the negroes of New Amsterdam; and the whites lived in constant anticipation of trouble and danger from them. Rumors of an intended insurrection, real or imaginary, would circulate (as in the negro plot of 1712), and the whole city be thrown into a state of alarm. Whether there was any real danger on these occasions, cannot be known, but the result was always the same, viz.: the slaves always suffered, many dying by the fagot or the gallows.

The "Negro Plot" of 1741, however, forms a serious and bloody chapter in the history of New York. At this distance of time it is hard to discover the truth amid the fears and prejudices which attended that public calamity. The city then contained some ten thousand inhabitants, about one-fifth of whom were African slaves, called the "black seed of Cain." Many of the laws for their government were most unjust and oppressive. Whenever three of them were found together they were liable to be punished by forty lashes on the bare back, and the same penalty followed their walking with a club outside of their master's grounds without a permit. Two justices could inflict any punishment except amputation or death, for any blow or assault by a slave upon a Christian or a Jew. Such was the outrageous law. New York swarmed with negroes, and her leading merchants were engaged in the slave trade, at that time regarded fair and honorable. New York then resembled a Southern city, with its calaboose on the Park Commons and its slave market at the foot of Wall street.

The burning of the public buildings, comprising the Governor's residence, the Secretary's office, the chapel and barracks, in March, 1741, was first announced to the General Assembly by the Lieutenant-Governor as the result of an accident—a plumber who had been engaged upon some repairs having left fire in a gutter between the house and chapel. But several other fires occurring shortly afterward in different parts of the city, some of them, perhaps, under circumstances that could not readily be explained, suspicions were awakened that the whole were acts of incendiaries. Not a chimney caught fire—and they were not at that day very well swept—but the incident was attributed to design. Such was the case in respect to the chimney of Captain Warren's house, situated near the ruins of the public buildings, by the taking fire of which the roof was partially destroyed; and other instances might be enumerated. Suspicion, to borrow the language of Shakspeare, "hath a ready tongue," and is "all stuck full of eyes," which are not easily put to sleep. Inci-

* In the year 1755 a census of slaves was taken in all the colonies except Albany, New York, and Suffolk. Borough numbered 91; Manor of Pelham, 24; Westchester, 73; Bushwick, 43; Flatbush, 35; New Utrecht, 67; Newtown, 87 Oyster-Bay, 97; etc., etc.

dents and circumstances, ordinary and extraordinary, were seized upon and brought together by comparison, until it became obvious to all that there was actually a conspiracy for compassing such a stupendous act of arson as the burning of the entire town and murder of the people. Nor was it long before the plot was fastened upon the negro slaves, then forming no inconsiderable portion of the population. A negro, with violent gesticulation, had been heard to utter some terms of unintelligible jargon, in which the words "fire, fire, scorch, scorch," were heard articulated, or supposed to be heard. The crew of a Spanish ship brought into the port as a prize, were sold into slavery. They were suspected of disaffection—as well they might be, and yet be innocent—seized and thrown into prison. Coals were found disposed, as was supposed, for burning a hay-stack; a negro had been seen jumping over a fence and flying from a house that had taken fire in another place, and in a word a vast variety of incidents, trifling and unimportant, were collated and talked over until universal consternation seized upon the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest. As Hume remarks of the Popish plot in the reign of Charles II, "each breath of rumor made the people start with anxiety; their enemies, they thought, were in their bosoms. They were awakened from their slumbers by the cry of *Plot*, and like men affrighted and in the dark, took every figure for a specter. The terror of each man became a source of terror to another, and an universal panic being diffused; reason, and argument, and common sense, and common humanity, lost all influence over them."* A Titus Oates was found in the person of a poor weak servant-girl in a sailor's boarding-house, named Mary Burton, who, after much importunity, confessed that she had heard certain negroes in the preceding February, conferring in private, for the purpose of setting the town on fire. She at first confined the conspirators to blacks, but afterward several white persons were included, among whom were her landlord, whose name was Hughson, his wife, another maid-servant, and a Roman Catholic, named Ury. Some other information was obtained from other informers, and numerous arrests were made, and the several strong apartments in the City Hall, called "the jails," were crowded with prisoners, amounting in number to twenty-six whites and above one hundred and sixty slaves. Numerous executions took place upon the most frivolous and unsatisfactory testimony, but jurors and magistrates were alike panic-stricken and wild with terror. Among the sufferers were Hughson, his wife, and the maid-servant, as also the Romanist Ury, who was capitally accused, not only as a conspirator, but for officiating as a priest, upon an old law of the colony, heretofore mentioned as having been passed at the instance of Governor Bellamont, to drive the French

* Quoted by Dunlap, who has given a good collection of facts respecting this remarkable plot, though not rendered into a well-digested narrative. See chap. xxi. of his *History*.

missionaries from among the Indians. "The whole summer was spent in the prosecutions; every new trial led to further accusations; a coincidence of slight circumstances was magnified by the general terror into violent presumptions; tales collected without doors, mingling with the proofs given at the bar, poisoned the minds of the jurors, and this sanguinary spirit of the day suffered no check until Mary, the capital informer, bewildered by frequent examinations and suggestions, began to touch characters which malice itself dared not suspect." Then, as in the case of the Popish plot and the prosecutions for witchcraft in Salem, the magistrates and jurors began to pause. But not until many had been sent to their final account by the spirit of fanaticism which had bereft men of their reason, as innocent of the charges laid against them as the convicting courts and jurors themselves. Thirteen negroes were burnt at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy transported.*

The year 1742, if for no other reason, is memorable in the annals of the city from the fact that in that year was built the house now standing on the site of No. 1 Broadway, now known as the Washington Hotel, and the oldest house in the City of New York. Previous to this year (1742) the site was occupied by an old tavern kept by a Mrs. Kocks, built a century previous by her husband, Pieter Kocks, an officer in the Dutch service and an active leader in the Indian war of 1693. Mr. David T. Valentine—to whom New York is indebted more than to any other man for the preservation of its local history, and for which she can never be sufficiently grateful—usually remarkably accurate, states that the building, No. 1 Broadway, was built by Archibald Kennedy (afterward Earl of Cassilis), then Collector of the Port of New York. This, however, is an error. It was built by Sir Peter, afterward Admiral, Warren,† K. B.—whose name is so identified with the naval glory of England, during his residence in New York City. Neither pains nor expense were spared to make it one of the finest mansions in this country. The plans were all sent out from Lisbon—the exterior and interior

* Daniel Horsmanden, the third Justice of the Supreme Court, published the history of this strange affair in a ponderous quarto. He was concerned in the administration of the judicial proceedings, however, and wrote his history before the delusion had passed away. Chief-Justice De Lancey presided at least at some of the trials, and he, too, though an able and clear-minded man, was carried away by the delusion. James De Lancey was the son of Stephen De Lancey, a French Huguenot gentleman from Caen, in Normandy, who fled from persecution in France. Settling in New York in 1686, he married a daughter of M. Van Courlandt, and was thus connected with one of the most opulent families in the province. He was also an active member of the House of Assembly during the administration of Governor Hunter. His son James was sent to Cambridge University (England), for his education, and bred to the profession of the law. On being elevated to the bench, such were his talents and application, he became a very profound lawyer.—*Smith.*

† After whom *Warren* street is named.

being similar in every respect to that of the British ambassador residing at the Portuguese capital. The house was fifty-six feet on Broadway, and when erected, the rear of the lot was bounded by the North River. Greenwich street was not then opened or built—the North River washing the shore. One room of this edifice deserves particular notice, being the banqueting-room, twenty-six by forty, and used on all great occasions. After the British forces captured New York, in the war of the American Revolution, as the most prominent house, it was the headquarters of the distinguished British commanders. Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Guy Carlton, afterward Lord Dorchester, all in succession occupied this house; and it is a memorable fact that the celebrated Major Andre, then Adjutant-General of the British forces, and aid to Sir Henry Clinton, resided in this house, being in the family of Sir Henry, and departed from its portals never to return, when he went up the North River and arranged his treasonable project with the traitor Arnold at West Point.

The administration of Lieutenant-Governor Clarke was ended in the autumn of 1743, by the arrival of Admiral George Clinton, uncle of the Earl of Lincoln, and a younger son of the late Earl, who had been appointed to the government of New York through the interest of his friends, to afford him an opportunity of mending his fortunes. Mr. Clarke, who, in the commencement of his administration, had succeeded in conciliating the leaders of both political parties, had contrived before the close of his career to lose the confidence of both, so that his retirement from the Government was regarded with universal satisfaction.* Especially had he incurred the resentment of the Chief-Justice, De Lancey; who, strangely enough, though usually a staunch supporter of the prerogatives of the Crown, had now became, to some extent, a favor-

* George Clarke, Esq., who, in various official stations, was for almost half a century connected with the colonial government of New York, was an Englishman by birth. "His uncle, Mr. Blaithwait, procured the Secretaryship of the colony for him early in the reign of Queen Anne. He had genius, but no other than a common writing-school education; nor did he add to his stock by reading, for he was more intent upon improving his fortune than his mind. He was sensible, artful, active, cautious; had a perfect command of his temper, and was in his address specious and civil. Nor was any man better acquainted with the colony and its affairs." He successively held the offices of Secretary, Clerk of the Council, Councillor, and Lieutenant-Governor; and from his official position he had every opportunity of enriching himself by obtaining grants and patents of land, which, from his knowledge of the colony, he was enabled to choose in the most advantageous locations. He was a courtier, and was careful never to differ with the governors of the colony; although during Cosby's stormy career he usually kept himself quiet at his country villa upon the edge of Hempstead plains. "His lady was a Hyde, a woman of fine accomplishments, and a distant relation of that branch of the Clarendon family. She died in New York. Mr. Clarke returned to England in 1745, with acquisitions estimated at one hundred thousand pounds. He purchased

ite of the General Assembly. The new Governor had spent most of his life in the navy; and, according to the earliest English historian of New York, "preferring ease and good cheer to the restless activity of ambition, there wanted nothing to engage the interest of his powerful patrons in his favor, more than to humor a simple-hearted man, who had no ill-nature, nor sought anything more than a genteel frugality and common civility while he was mending those fortunes, until his friends at court could recall him to some indolent and more lucrative station."

Mr. Clinton arrived in New York on the 22d of September, and was received with demonstrations of universal satisfaction by the people. Finding that the General Assembly stood adjourned to meet in a few days, and ascertaining that the people would be pleased with an opportunity of holding a new election, the Assembly was dissolved on the twenty-seventh, and writs for the return of another Assembly issued the same day. The elections were conducted without political acrimony, and all the old members, with but seven exceptions, were returned. The session opened on the 8th of November. Meantime, the Governor had fallen into the hands of De Lancey, who doubtless had the moulding of his excellency's speech. Its tone was conciliatory, although the sore subject of a permanent revenue was opened afresh. But this was done in gentle terms, the Governor asking for a grant "in as ample a manner, and for a time as long as had been given under any of his predecessors." The Assembly was informed that, owing to the critical state of affairs in Europe, and the doubtful attitude in which Great Britain and France stood toward each other, a large supply of military stores for the defense of the colony had been received from the parent government; and the Governor hoped the Assembly would show their thankfulness by making an adequate provision for the purchase of others. The usual recommendations in regard to the Indian intercourse of the colony were renewed, and an appropriation was asked for rebuilding the barracks and public offices, together with the house of the Governor, which had been destroyed by fire. The latter recommendation was insisted on as being necessary for the comfort of the Governor's family.

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an estate in Cheshire, where he died about the year 1761. George Clarke, his grand-son, and the heir to his estates, after a residence in America of about thirty-five years, died at Otsego about the year 1835. His eldest son, George Hyde Clarke, with his young wife, was lost in the ship Albion, wrecked on the coast of Ireland, in the summer of 1820, on his passage from New York to England. His second son then returned to England and entered into possession of the fortune of his father's estates situated in that country. By the vast increase in price of his American lands, Mr. Clarke's estates in this country became of princely value before his death. They are inherited by his youngest son, George Clarke, Esq., who at present resides in the noble mansion erected by his father a few years before his decease, upon the margin of Otsego Lake.

"An humble address" was voted by the Council in reply, drawn up by De Lancey. The appointment of the new Governor was received "as an additional evidence of his Majesty's affection for his people, and his zeal for the liberty of mankind, lately most evidently demonstrated in his exposing his sacred person to the greatest dangers in defense of the liberty of Europe." In all other respects the answer was an echo of the speech. The address of the House was more than an echo; it was couched in language of excessive flattery to the new Governor, and of fawning adulation toward the sovereign, who was designated "the darling of his own people, and the glorious preserver of the liberties of Europe." There was, however, a disposition on all sides to be pleased. The Assembly responded to the demanded appropriations, voting the Governor fifteen hundred pounds for his salary, one hundred pounds for house-rent, four hundred pounds for fuel and candles, one hundred and fifty pounds to enable him to visit the Indians, and eight hundred pounds for the purchase of presents to be distributed amongst them. Other appropriations were made upon a scale of corresponding liberality; and the Governor was so well pleased with the good temper of the Assembly, that he signed every bill presented for his approbation, without a murmur of disapprobation, not even excepting the supply-bill, which, notwithstanding his demand to the contrary, in the opening speech, was limited to the year.

But, notwithstanding these reciprocal manifestations of good feeling; and notwithstanding also the amiable traits of the Governor's natural disposition, it will be seen in the progress of events that the bluff characteristics of the sailor were not always to be concealed; and his administration, in process of time, became as tempestuous as the element upon which he was certainly more at home than upon the land.

Advices of the intended invasion of his majesty's dominions, in behalf of a "Popish Pretender," were communicated to the General Assembly of New York by Governor Clinton, in April, 1744. In connection with this anticipated act of hostility, which would of course extend to the contiguous colonies of the two countries, efficient measures were urged for placing the country in a posture of defense. The temper of the colony, in regard to this movement of France, may be inferred from the immediate action of the Assembly. In the Council, Chief-Justice De Lancy, in moving an address of thanks for the speech, offered also a resolution expressive of the abhorrence of that body of the designs of France in favor of the Pretender, and declaring that the civil and religious rights of his majesty's subjects depended on the Protestant succesion. The House was invited to join in the address, which request, though a very unusual procedure, was readily acquiesced in, and the address was prepared by a joint committee of the two houses. From all this it was evident that a war was very near at hand, and that the frontiers of the

colony might again, very soon, be subjected to the ravages of a foe than whose tender mercies nothing could be more cruel.

In 1746, the small-pox drove the Assembly from the city to Greenwich; but soon appearing there, also, produced a panic that for several days entirely arrested the course of business. The Assembly prayed for a recess from the 9th of March to the 12th of April, and also for leave to adjourn their sittings to some other place. Jamaica and Brooklyn were suggested; but in the opinion of the Governor the demands of the public service forbade so long an interregnum, and he therefore directed their adjournment for a week, to meet in the borough of Westchester. They convened there accordingly; but the inconvenience of the locality was such that the members begged permission to adjourn even back to the infected city again, rather than remain where they were. In the end the Governor directed them to transfer their sittings to Brooklyn, at which place the transaction of business was resumed on the 20th of March, when an address to the Governor was ordered to be prepared, in answer to that of the Council respecting the rejection of the before-mentioned revenue-bill.

Before the introduction of the bill, the Assembly had inquired of the Governor whether he had any objection to an emission of paper money to meet the exigencies of the country; to which question the proper answer was given by Mr. Clinton, that "when the bill came to him he would declare his opinion." The bill was therefore introduced and passed by the Assembly; but the Council, disapproving of certain of its provisions, requested a conference. The Assembly, however, declared that inasmuch as it was a money bill, they would consent to no such course upon the subject. The Council thereupon summarily rejected the bill, and sent up an address to the Governor, written by the Chief Justice, De Lancey, setting forth their reasons, by which their course had been governed. One of the objections to the bill, according to this representation, was found in the fact, "that the money proposed to be raised by the bill was not granted to his Majesty, or to be issued by warrants in council, as it ought to have been, and as has usually been done." This objection involved the old question of the royal prerogative—nothing more. On the subject of the right claimed by the Assembly of exclusive power over the details of money bills, the address asserted "the equal rights of the Council to exercise their judgments upon these bills." Various other objections of detail were suggested; but the two points specified above, were the only grounds of principle upon which the Council relied in justification of its course. Yet the unreasonableness of the assumption of the House, that the Council should not be allowed even to point out and rectify the defects of anything which they chose to call a money bill, was argued at considerable length.

There was yet another cause of irritation on the part of the House

So early as the year 1709, the General Assembly had found it necessary, in providing ways and means for the public service—especially in the prosecution of the several wars in which the colony had been involved by the parent government—to issue a paper currency called bills of credit. The operation had been repeated from time to time, in emergent cases—sometimes with the approbation of the Crown, and sometimes not—until these paper issues had become a part of the policy of the colony. Others of the colonies, laboring under the same necessities, had resorted to the same measures of finance; but to which the Crown, jealous of its prerogative in all matters of currency, had uniformly been opposed. For many years, therefore, antecedent to this period, the royal governors had arrived in the colony clothed with instructions against allowing farther emissions of bills of credit—instructions, however, which the stern law of necessity had seldom allowed them to enforce. Still, the Crown, keenly alive to every step of independent action on the part of the colonies, was persisting in its war against a colonial currency even of paper; and a bill was now before parliament, upon the subject, which gave great alarm to the people. Professedly, its design was merely for preventing these bills of credit from being made a legal tender; but it was discovered that the bill was to have a far more extensive operation—"obliging and enjoining the legislatures of every colony to pay strict obedience to all such orders and instructions as might from time to time be transmitted to them, or any of them, by his majesty or his successors, or by or under his or their authority." Such an act, it was justly held, "would establish an absolute power in the Crown, in all the British plantations, that would be inconsistent with the liberties and privileges inherent in an *English* man, while he is in a *British* dominion."

Incensed at this stubborness on the part of his little parliament, the sailor-Governor determined, in the Assembly, which met on the 12th of October, 1748, to reassert the prerogative in the strongest terms, by bringing the subject of a permanent supply to a direct issue; choosing, as Mr. Bancroft has remarked, New York "as the opening scene in the final contest that led to independence." Accordingly, on the 14th he sent down his message to the house, in which he demanded a permanent support for five years. The message stated that on coming to the administration of the government, he had been disposed to do all he could, consistently with his duty to the king, for the care and satisfaction of the people. Hence, reposing confidence in the advice then given him, he had given his assent to various acts of the Assembly, the tendency of which, as experience had taught him, was to weaken the authority of his majesty's government. Still, as the country was very soon afterward involved in war, he had forborne to take that attitude in the premises which duty to his sovereign seemed to require. But with the return of peace, he deemed it to be his indispensable duty to put a stop to such innovations. Promi-

nent among these was the practice which had been growing up, of making only *an annual* provision for the payment of the officers of the Government. He also alluded to the modern practice of naming the officers for whose benefit the appropriations were made in the act, thus interfering with the prerogative in the appointing honor. He admonished the Assembly that he should give his assent to no acts of that character for the future; and demanded an appropriation for the payment of the Governor's secretaries, judges, and other salaried officers, for the term of five years, according to the practice that had prevailed during the administration of his four immediate predecessors, namely, Governors Hunter, Burnett, Montgomery, and Cosby. The inconvenience of these annual grants of salaries and allowances was adverted to, and objections further urged against the recent method of intermixing matters of an entirely different nature with the provisions of the salary-bills, and tacking new grants for other purposes to the Governor's own support.

The Assembly, in its reply, justly regarding the request for a permanent supply as a direct attempt to render the Crown independent of the people, with great indignation refused to grant it. As to the more recent practice of naming the officers provided for in the salary bills, it not only justified it, but intimated that if this course had been adopted at an earlier day, his Excellency would not have been able to remove the third Justice of the Supreme Court "without any color of misconduct" on his part—who was "a gentleman of learning and experience in the law.*" The result can readily be seen. After continual bickerings for several weeks, Mr. Clinton, in great wrath, prorogued the Assembly.

Thus the parties separated, and thus again commenced that great struggle between the Republican and Monarchal principle, which in the onward progress of the former was destined at a day not even then far distant, to work such mighty results in the Western Hemisphere.

Although, from a very early date in the history of this protracted controversy, it became inexcusably personal, yet it is not difficult to perceive that it was in reality one of principle. On the one hand, the infant Hercules, though still in his cradle, was becoming impatient of restraint. The yoke of colonial servitude chafed the necks, if not of the people, at least of their representatives. The royal Governor was not slow to perceive what kind of leaven was fermenting the body-politic; and hence he became perhaps over-jealous in asserting and defending the prerogatives of his master. Doubtless, in the progress of the quarrel, there were faults on both sides. Of an irascible and overbearing temperament, and accustomed in his profession to command rather than to persuade, he was ill-qualified to exercise a limited or concurrent power with a popular

*Alluding to the removal, the year before, of Justice Horsmanden. This act was again imputed to the influence of "a person of a mean and despicable character"—meaning, as it was well understood, Dr. Colden.

Assembly equally jealous of its own privileges and of the liberties of the people; watching with sleepless vigilance for every opportunity to circumscribe the influence of the Crown; and ready at every moment to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power. Still, however patriotic the motives, under the promptings of De Lancey, their opposition to Mr. Clinton became factious; and it is not difficult even for a republican to believe that he was treated, not only with harshness, but with great injustice, especially in regard to his measures, and his personal exertions for the public defense and the prosecution of the Indian war.

At length, worn out in health and spirits by his struggle against a powerful opposition, Clinton, in 1753, sent in his resignation to the home government, and Sir James Osborne was appointed in his stead.

The character of Mr. Clinton has not, I think, been fairly drawn. Those upon whose opinions his character rests, were persons living at the same day, and who, influenced by party strife, were not in a position to judge impartially. He was an uncouth and unlettered Admiral, who had been, through the Newcastle interest, appointed to the chair of Governor. He was evidently unsuited to his position; and his former profession, in which he had always been accustomed to command, illy fitted him to brave the rebuffs and the opposition of party faction. His manner, too, was not such as to win friends. Having to depend entirely upon the advice of those around him, he was often the dupe of those better versed in the arts of diplomacy than himself. But I look in vain for that love of ease, to the neglect of his official duties, of which he is accused by his enemies. On the contrary, although he relied too much on the advice of others for his own good, yet it was caused more by a consciousness of a lack of education, than by a desire to shirk action. In the care of the Indians he was indefatigable, as appears by his large correspondence with Colonel, afterwards Sir Wm. Johnson, and the officers of the different frontier posts. He labored incessantly with his Assembly to make them realize the condition of the colony; and had they met his views half-way, or even manifested a tithe of his energy, the Province of New York would not have presented such an inviting field for the encroachments of the French. He is accused of amassing by unfair means a large fortune while Governor, yet he freely advanced out of his private purse large sums for the exigencies of the Indian affairs, and many times saved the Six Nations from defection, and the province from the horrors of a predatory warfare, when it was impossible to rouse the Assembly to a sense of danger. Indeed, I think it may safely be said, that had it not been for the untiring efforts of Mr. Clinton and Colonel Johnson, the Six Nations would have been completely won over by the French, and the fire-brand and tomahawk carried down to the very gates of New York.

Meanwhile, several public edifices had been erected, and various

improvements taken place in the city. In 1747, the Presbyterian Church in Wall street, which had been erected by Hunter, was rebuilt. "In the course of the next two years, Beekman and the contiguous streets were regulated. Ferry street was ceded to the city; Beekman, Dey, and Thames streets were paved; Pearl street was dug down near Peck Slip, and graded from Franklin Square to Chatham street; and John street was paved and regulated. In 1751, a Moravian Chapel was built in Fulton street; the following year, the first Merchants' Exchange was erected at the foot of Broad street; and St. George's Chapel was built by Trinity Church on the corner of Cliff and Beekman, and was consecrated on the 1st of July by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, a former missionary among the Mohawks, but now the rector of Trinity Church. This building yet remains in good preservation, and is well known as one of the few original landmarks. This is, next to the Post-Office, the oldest church edifice now standing in the city, and its quaint old chandeliers, and aisles flagged with gray stone, still remain as relics of days of yore." Washington, it is said, was a frequent attendant of this church during his residence in this city in the early part of the Revolutionary War.* But alas! this old landmark is about to share the fate of so many other structures of a similar character, and is to be torn down to make room for another altar to the god Mammon. Workmen are, as we write, employed in removing the wood-work and other articles of furniture, preparatory to the destruction of the church. It is said that the owners of the vaults underneath the sacristy are about to contest the right of the recent sale in the courts; but their efforts will probably have little effect in saving the doomed building from the grasp of sacrilegious hands. In speaking of the history of this edifice, a writer in the New York *World*, of March 17th, 1868, recalls the following interesting facts:

"One hundred and twenty years ago, New York City had not attained its majority, and Broadway was but a cow-path above Canal street. The Right Honorable George Clinton, 'Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Province of New York and the Territories thereon, Depending in America, Vice-Admiral of the Same, and Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet,' as that most doughty and right honorable personage was wont to sign himself in proclamations to the fat burghers of New York, sat in the chair now filled by Reuben E. Fenton. In that day, New York City was a nest for privateers, which sailed hence to destroy French and Spanish commerce. According as their destination might be, these vessels, with a fair quantity of rum, molasses, and sea-provisions, would be piloted to the Hook, and there take on board an India, Mediterranean, or

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* Another *important* event occurred at this time, which should not be omitted by one who attempts to give a history of the city—inasmuch as it gives us the origin of the yearly appropriation made by the Common Council for the *City Manual*, viz.: that in 1747 the Common Council appropriated *four pounds* for the publication of fifty copies of *An Essay on the Duties of Vestrymen!* Some ill-natured cynic may here suggest that it would have been better if the Common Council had confined themselves to publications of a similar kind.

other pilot, to carry them to their destination. Small negro boys and Jamaica men in parcels were sold at auction where now the Custom-House rears its lofty pillars. Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria and Queen of Bohemia and Hungaria, wielded the scepter of the Cæsars; George the Second, *Fides Defensor*, twiddled his thumbs in Windsor Park and played bowls with his Hanoverian mistresses; and wheat was six shillings a bushel; flour, eighteen shillings a hundred; beef, forty shilllings a barrel; West India rum, three and eight pence a gallon; salt, three shillings a bushel; and single-refined sugar, one and 'tuppence' a pound in New York City. Manus Carroll had been hung at the old powder-house, which still stands on an eminence at the upper end of the Central Park, for a cruel and most 'un-Christian'-like murder which he had committed two years before in Albany, then a thriving town. Counterfeiters were at that time amenable to the death-penalty, and the Barnum of that day exhibited wax-figures in Dock street, and the editor of the New York *Weekly Post Boy* was in the habit of receiving presents of baskets of Bermuda potatoes from the masters of vessels bound into the goodly port of New York. One day the editor received a potato weighing seven pounds from the master of the *Good Delight*, from Plumb Island, in the far-off 'Bermoothes,' and, out of sheer joy at the prodigy, he went and made himself drunk on 'arrack-punch,' the most aristocratic tipple of our forefathers' days. The City and County of New York had at that early day a population of twelve thousand, two thousand of which number were negroes.

"On the 15th of April, 1748, a number of gentlemen met in the vestry of King's Chapel or Trinity Church, then situated where the present church stands in the Broadway, but at the time referred to, overhanging the banks of the Hudson, whose limits have since been pushed back a quarter of a mile by the contractors and dust-collectors; and these gentlemen being of the opinion, after a deliberate consultation, that it was necessary to have a chapel of ease connected with Trinity, it was then and there ordained that the Church-Wardens, Colonel Moore, Mr. Watts, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Horsmanden, Mr. Reade, and Mr. Lodge, be appointed a committee to select a place for the erection 'of ye' Chapel of St. George's. Another meeting was held on the 4th of July, 1748. Colonel Robinson, one of the committee, reported that he had agreed with a Mr. Clarkson for a number of lots, for which that person had asked the sum of £500, to be paid in a year, and several persons in Montgomerie Ward had stated to him that the lots of Colonel Beekman, fronting Beekman and Van Cliff streets, would be more commodious for building the said chapel, and proposed that if the vestry would agree to the building of the chapel on Colonel Beekman's property, the inhabitants of Montgomerie Ward would raise money among themselves to purchase the ground, and that if Mr. Clarkson insisted on the performance of the agreement with him for his lots, they would take a conveyance for them, and pay the purchase-money; which was agreed to after many hot words. For these respectable vestrymen, in a manner like all vestrymen from time immemorial, had tempers of their own, and no doubt they were exercised at the fact that the doughty Robinson had taken upon himself to make an agreement to purchase lots for £500, a very large sum in those days when the gold-board had not been established, while on the other hand the inhabitants of Montgomerie Ward, which was afterward called the 'Swamp' in the memory of man, were, without whip or spur, eager for the honor and glory of the future, to furnish the lots and build upon them a church. Well, the vestrymen went home and drank more arrack-punch, sweetened with Muscovado sugar, and punished 'oelykoeks,' greasy with oil and other substances, and then returned to the bosoms of their respective families. Donations poured in to the committee, and the first subscription, of £100, was made by Sir Peter Warren, who desired, if not inconsistent with the rules of the church, that they would reserve a pew for himself and family in perpetuity. The Archbishop of

Canterbury contributed ten pounds. This, the second building in the city erected for the purpose of worship being completed, notice was given to the Governor, and the installation services were held on the 1st day of July, A. D., 1752; but there being no bishop in the country at the time, it was consecrated agreeably to the ancient usages of the church. The Rev. Henry Barclay, D. D., at this time, was the rector, and Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D. D., assistant minister of Trinity Church. Being finished in the finest style of architecture of the period, and having a handsome and lofty steeple, this edifice was justly deemed a great ornament to the city. It first stood alone, there being but few other houses in its vicinity. Shortly subsequent, however, the streets were graded and built upon, and now the immense warehouses of enterprising merchants and handsome private residences surround it on every side. When first constructed, the interior arrangement of St. George's differed considerably from the present, the chancel, at that time, being contained in the circular recess at the rear of the church, and the altar standing back against the rear-wall in full view of the middle-aisle. There was also some difference in the arrangement of the desk, pulpit, and clerk's-desk. An interesting relation is told concerning the material of which this part of the church-furniture was made, and it may be thus condensed: In one of the voyages made by a sea-captain, whose vessel was unfortunately wrecked, he sustained, among other injuries, the loss of the vessel's masts. This disaster occurring on a coast where no other wood than mahogany could be procured, the captain was obliged to remedy the loss by replacing the old masts with masts made of mahogany. This ship, thus repaired, returned to this port about the time St. George's was building, when more suitable masts were substituted, and those made of mahogany were donated to the Church. The pulpit, desk, and chancel-rails were removed some years afterward, and it may be interesting to state that they can now be seen answering a like capacity in Christ Church, in the little town of Manhasset, on Long Island.

"There is an incident connected with the beautiful font of this church, which will also bear repetition. Originally intended for a Catholic church in South America, it was shipped on a French vessel to be carried to its destination; but whilst on the voyage it was captured by the English during the old French war and brought to this city. This font is made of white marble, and is a masterly piece of workmanship. In 1814, when St. George's was burned, this font was supposed to have been destroyed, but it was found about thirty years ago in a remote part of the church, where it had been removed during the conflagration. It was somewhat damaged, but not enough, however, to prevent its further use, and after being cleaned and repaired it was replaced in front of the chancel, where it now stands, an interesting feature of the time-honored building.

"One of the melancholy events associated with this old church was the sudden death of the Rev. John Ogilvie. On the 18th of November, 1774, whilst delivering one of the lectures he was in the habit of holding on Friday evenings, he was struck with apoplexy. He had given out his text: 'To show that the Lord is upright: he is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in him.'—Psalms, xcii., 15; and after repeating a sentence or two he sank into the reading-desk, and was deprived of speech. He suffered thus for eight days, when he was relieved by death. It was in this chapel, in July, 1787, that the Right Rev. Samuel Provost, the first bishop of the Diocese of New York, held his first ordination, at which time the late Right Rev. Richard C. Moore, D. D., Bishop of Virginia, and the Rev. Joseph G. I. Bend, of Baltimore, were made Deacons. In the year 1811, arrangements were made for a separation between the congregation of St. George's and the corporation of Trinity Church, after which the latter became duly organized as a separate parish, known as St. George's Church.

"The following persons composed the first vestry: Church-Wardens—Gerrit Van Wagenen and Henry Peters. Vestrymen—Francis Dominick, Isaac Lawrence, Isaac Carow, Robert Wardell, Cornelius Schemmerhorn, John Onderdonk, Edward W. Laight, and William Green. After St. George's became a separate parish, its first minister was the Rev. John Brady, who afterward became an assistant under the Rev. John Kewly. St. George's was entirely consumed by fire in the month of January, 1814, nothing being saved but the bare walls. After a proper examination, these walls were decided to be safe enough to bear another roof, and when this was put on the whole interior of the building was renewed. The interior of the church is much more handsomely finished than the exterior, the carved capitals of the Corinthian order presenting a fine specimen of architectural beauty. The ground-floor is divided into three aisles, and on either side a commodious gallery is supported by massive columns. At the west end, and connecting these two, there is another gallery, in the middle of which is located a handsome mahogany organ. Above this end gallery there are two smaller ones, which are used by the Sunday-school pupils. From the center of the ceiling three large magnificent glass chandeliers depend, and these are among the few articles that were saved from the fire. Over the side galleries three smaller, but very beautiful chandeliers are hung above the arches. When St. George's was completed a second time, it was placed by the vestry under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Dr. Milnor, who continued to fill the rectorship until the 8th of April, 1845, when he died. This venerable minister was held in high esteem by his parish, and his death was sincerely lamented. He had been a lawyer in Philadelphia in early life, and for several terms represented that city in Congress. In 1813, he abandoned secular pursuits, and was admitted to priests' and deacons' orders by Bishop White.

"One hundred years after the consecration of St. George's, a grand centenary celebration was held in the church, and hundreds of worshippers knelt in the shadow of the pulpit from which George Washington had often heard the sacred text read and expounded. Dr. Tyng held the rectorship until the new edifice in Sixteenth street was finished, when the communion service was removed to the new church, and a number of old relics carried away. Now the venerable pile is being gutted from organ-loft to altar, and the hungry doors stand open that all may see the nakedness of the edifice. The old gray flag-stones, worn by the feet of Schuylers, Livingstons, Reades, Van Cliffs, Beekmans, Van Rensselaers, Cortlandts, Moores, and others, well known and respected in the infancy of the metropolis, are to be torn up and converted into lime, the pulpit will go to a junk-shop, and the rest of the furniture to the wood-yard. At present the graves of revolutionary heroes serve as a depository for ashes and rubbish, and vessels are emptied daily from the windows adjoining on places where, a hundred years ago, was carved the sacred words never to be effaced, "*Requiescat in pace.*" The old church has to be torn down, and the six lots will be sold to the highest purchasers. The church was the oldest in the city but one, the building occupied as a post-office having been the first building erected as a place of worship. The property purchased from Colonel Beekman for £500 is now worth, it is said, half a million of dollars."

Mr. Clinton was at his country seat at Flushing, L. I., when his successor, Sir James Osborne, arrived. This was on Sunday, the 7th of October, 1753. The Council, Mayor, Corporation, and the chief citizens met the new Governor on his arrival, and escorted him to the Council-Chamber. The following day Mr. Clinton called upon him, and they both dined with the members of the Council. On Wednesday morning Mr. Clinton administered to him the oath of office, and delivered to him

the seals; at the same time delivering to James De Lancey his commission as Lieutenant-Governor. As soon as these forms were finished, Governor Osborne, attended by the Council and Mr. Clinton, set out for the Town-Hall, where the new commission was usually read to the people. Scarcely, however, had the procession advanced a few steps, when the rabble, incited, it is said, by the De Lancey faction, insulted Mr. Clinton so grossly as to compel him to leave the party, and retire into the fort. In the evening cannon were fired, bonfires lighted, fireworks displayed, and the whole city was given up to a delirium of joy. Amid all these rejoicings, the new Governor sat in his room gloomy and sad; and, seemingly averse to conversation, retired early. On Thursday morning he informed the Council that his strict orders were to insist upon an indefinite support for the Government, and desired to have the opinion of the Board upon the probabilities of its success. It was universally agreed by the members present that the Assembly never would submit to this demand, and that a permanent support could not be enforced. Turning to Mr. Smith, who had hitherto remained silent, he requested his opinion, which being to the same effect as that just expressed, Mr. Osborne sighed, and, leaning against the window, with his face partially concealed, exclaimed, in great mental distress: "Then what am I sent here for!" That same evening he was so unwell that a physician was summoned, with whom he conversed for a little time, and then retired to his chamber, where he spent the most of the night in arranging his private affairs. In the morning he was found suspended from the top of the garden-fence, dead.*

Sir Danvers Osborne had lost a wife to whom he was passionately attached, shortly before coming to New York. This acting upon a mind morbidly sensitive, had thrown him into a melancholy, bordering upon insanity. He came to the government charged with instructions much more stringent in their tone than those given to his predecessor; and knowing the difficulty which Mr. Clinton experienced during his administration, he saw before him only a succession of storms and tempests. Almost the first words of the City Corporation in their address to him in the Town-Hall—"that they would not brook any infringement of their liberties, civil and religious"—convinced Mr. Osborne of the utter impossibility of the task assigned to him. All these causes working upon a morbid state of mind—wishing to carry out his instructions on the one hand, yet seeing its utter hopelessness on the other—produced a temporary insanity, in which state he committed the rash act. Party rage, it is true, threw out suspicions of unfair play; and the Council even thought it worth while to appoint a committee to investigate more fully the circumstances of his death; but these suspicions, it was made clearly evident, were entirely without foundation.

* Manuscript affidavits of Philip Crosby and John Milligan before the Council. Sworn to, October 12, 1753, and now preserved in the Secretary of State's Office, Albany, N. Y.

Immediately on the death of Governor Osborne, Mr. De Lancey, by virtue of his commission as Lieutenant-Governor, assumed the reins of government. The *role* which he was henceforth to play, though difficult, was acted with his usual shrewdness and address. He had now to convince the Ministry that he was zealous in the promotion of the interests of the Crown; while at the same time, if he would retain his own popularity, he must show the Assembly that he was true to his former principles, and by no means required a compliance with the instructions, which, on the part of his Majesty, he should present to them. "As his Majesty's representative, he was obliged to urge their compliance with seeming sincerity and warmth; but as James De Lancey, their old friend and best adviser, it was his real sentiment that they never ought to submit." The change in the administration, however, was productive of one good result—that of infusing into the Assembly a desire to take active measures for the defense of the province, now threatened with a desolating Indian war. Before the close of the session, an elaborate complaint to the Crown, and a representation to the Board of Trade against Mr. Clinton were drawn up, and forwarded through Mr. De Lancey to the home government. The Assembly was then prorogued to the first Tuesday of the following March—the Lieutenant-Governor tenderly remarking before they parted, that they "must be sensible they had not acted with his Majesty's royal instructions."

In the General Assembly which met on the 15th of October, 1754, was first manifested the want of that harmony which had hitherto been so flattering to Mr. De Lancey's administration. The reluctance of the Lieutenant-Governor at the congress to accede to the plan of union, first awakened suspicion in the public mind that his sympathies were on the side of the Crown, and that the affection which he professed for the people was only a cover to his own ambition. There were also a few of Mr. Clinton's friends left, around whom were gathered a small opposition; and the partiality which Mr. De Lancey had shown to his partisans since coming into power, disgusted others and added to the discontent which was now quite general. To this was added another source of dissatisfaction, viz.: the course he had taken in the founding of the college. To understand this latter point more clearly, it is necessary to glance at the origin of the controversy which was now raging fiercely, and which had already divided the Assembly into two parties.

The province of New York at this period was divided in its religious views into two sects—the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian—the former being led by James De Lancey, and the latter by William Livingston. The Presbyterians, though outnumbering ten to one the Episcopalians, had not fairly recovered from the oppressions of the early Governors, Fletcher and Cornbury; and they would probably have remained quiet, had not the Episcopalians, with great lack of judgment, stirred up anew the embers of controversy.

The people of New York, awakened to the importance of stimulating education, raised, by successive lotteries, the sum of three thousand four hundred and forty-three pounds for the purpose of founding a college; and in the fall of 1751 passed an act for placing the money thus raised in the hands of ten trustees. Of these, seven were Episcopalians, two belonged to the Dutch church, and the tenth was William Livingston, an English Presbyterian. This manifest inequality in favor of the Church of England, at once raised a well-founded alarm in the minds of the other sects, who very justly perceived in this an attempt to make the college entirely sectarian, by which only those in the Episcopal church could participate in its benefits. Nor were they left long in suspense, for it soon became well understood that the majority of the trustees were to have the college under their control, and were intending shortly to petition the Lieutenant-Governor for a charter, in which it was to be expressly stipulated that no person out of the communion of the English church should be eligible to the office of president. Far-seeing men uttered gloomy forebodings; and a belief soon diffused itself through the minds of intelligent dissenters, that this was only the foreshadowing of an attempt to introduce into the colony an established church.

This idea was to a majority of the colonists repugnant in the extreme. The union of church and state, with its tithes and taxes, was, like the "skeleton in armor," ever present to their imaginations, stimulating them to the utmost resistance. Mr. Livingston, therefore, partially with a view to expose the evils of a college founded upon such sectarian principles, established a paper called the *Independent Reflector*. The articles which successively appeared from his pen on this subject were able and pungent. Under his lash the leaders of the church-party winced; and, in their agony, charged him with the design of breaking up the plan of any college whatever, and dreaded lest he should obtain a charter "for constituting a college on a basis the most catholic, generous, and free." These attacks of the church-party were returned with redoubled violence, and the controversy had now risen to fever-heat.

But the efforts of Mr. Livingston and other able writers to prevent the incorporation of King's (Columbia) College under these principles were fruitless; and Mr. De Lancey accordingly granted the charter. Rev. Samuel Johnson, from Stratford, a worthy man, was called to the president's chair, and Mr. Livingston was appointed one of the governors, in the hope of silencing his opposition.

The granting of this charter was so displeasing to the majority of the people, that the Lieutenant-Governor thought it advisable, in order to win back their former confidence, to urge at the present session the passage of several popular acts. Among them was one for supplying the garrison at Albany and the fortifications along the frontiers, and another for the discharge of the claims of the public creditors, especially the one of Colonel, afterward Sir William Johnson.

The granting of a charter to the new college, however, had not utterly crushed out opposition to its obnoxious principles. The House still had the disposal of the money which had been raised; and the sectarians having a majority, the trustees were ordered to report their transactions by virtue of the act under which they had been appointed. The latter accordingly on the first of November handed in two separate reports, Wm. Livingston reading one, and James Livingston and Mr. Nichol the other. After the two reports had been considered, the House unanimously resolved "that it would not consent to any disposition of the moneys raised by lottery for erecting a college within this colony in any other manner than by an act of the Legislature hereafter passed for that purpose." Permission at the same time was given Mr. Robert Livingston to bring in a bill for incorporating a college, which he introduced that same afternoon.

The introduction of this bill astonished both Houses. It was vain to suppose that the Council would give its assent to an act so distasteful to its religious prejudices; nor was the Lieutenant-Governor likely to directly contradict the letters-patent which, on behalf of the Crown, he himself had granted; while the Assembly, composed chiefly of dissenters, dared not reject it. In this predicament, a motion was made by Mr. Walton—prefaced with the remark "that the subject was of the utmost consequence to the people they represented, with the respect both to their civil and religious liberties"—that the consideration of the bill be deferred until the next session, by which time the sentiments of their constituents could be obtained. This motion was gladly seized upon as the only mode which presented an honorable retreat from the position they had so hastily assumed, and was therefore immediately carried.

Thus, with the close of the year, practically terminated the college controversy, a controversy which, considered in itself, was not perhaps of much importance; but which should not be omitted by the historian, who would show the progress which the citizens of New York were making toward that civil and religious freedom which they afterward attained.

Sir Charles Hardy, the person whom the Ministry had appointed to succeed Clinton, arrived in New York in 1755. He was, like his immediate predecessor, an unlettered British Admiral, and he had not landed long before it was apparent that, like him also, he had not sufficient executive talent to govern without a leader. He therefore soon resigned himself into the hands of De Lancey, who thus again became Governor. Sir Charles Hardy, however, soon became tired of his inactive life; and having, like a sensible man, asked and received permission to resign the government and return to his former profession, he hoisted his flag as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and leaving his government in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, De Lancey, he sailed on the 2d of July, 1757, to take command of an expedition against Lewisburg.

The year before his departure, however, was signalized by an outrage upon the citizens of New York, which was long treasured up, and undoubtedly had its full weight in the catalogue of grievances which a few years later was to precipitate the colony into revolution. At this time the colonists were engaged in a bloody war with the Indians and French; and Lord Loudoun, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army in America, arrived in New York in December, 1756, with twenty-four hundred men. His first act after landing was to insist that his officers should have free quarters upon the city. This, it will be remembered, was in direct opposition to the Charter of Liberties, framed by the first Assembly under Governor Dongan; and the citizens, who saw in this an attempt to burden them with a standing army, became excited, and warmly pleaded their rights as Englishmen. But Loudoun was not to be moved. Six men were billeted upon the brother of the Lieutenant-Governor—Oliver De Lancey. The latter threatened, if they were not removed, to leave the country. "I shall be glad of it," replied his lordship, at the same time quartering half-a-dozen more upon him, "for then the troops will have the whole house."* The Corporation insisted that free quarters were against the common law and the petition of rights. "God damn my blood!" exclaimed Loudoun to Mayor Cruger, who presented the opinion of the Corporation; "if you do not billet my officers upon free quarters this day, I'll order all the troops in North America, under my command, and billet them myself upon this city!" All argument being thus at an end, a subscription was raised for the quartering of the officers; and Loudoun, having rendered himself an object of detestation, went to Boston to breathe the same threats, and to talk of the rigor which was to characterize the next year's campaign.

Three years after the departure of Governor Hardy, the City of New York was thrown into deep mourning by the death of its former Chief-Justice and present Lieutenant-Governor, James De Lancey. On the 30th of July, 1760, he died very suddenly from an attack of asthma, a malady to which he had for many years been subject. The day previous to his decease, he had visited Staten Island, and dined with Governor Morris, General Prevost, and several other distinguished men of the day. Late in the evening he crossed the bay, seemingly laboring under great depression of spirits, and drove to his country-seat in the

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*"Sir: Am just now informed that 2,400 men are arrived in New York. My Lord Loudoun set a billetting them and sent only six to his old acquaintance, Mr. Ol. De Lancey; he zounzed, and blood-and-zounzed at the soldiers. This was told my lord; he sent Mr. Ol. half-a-dozen more. He sent my lord word if matters were to go so he would leave the country. My lord sent him word he would be glad of it; then the troops would have the whole house. I really thought this so extraordinary, I must communicate it to you."—*M. S. Letter in the author's possession. Wm. Colby tor Si Wm. Johnson, Jan. 15th,* 1757.

suburbs.* The next morning he was found by one of his little children† sitting in his library in the last agonies of death.

By his violent political enemies Mr. De Lancey has been represented as a most unprincipled demagogue, while by his satellites, he has been lauded to the skies as a disinterested citizen and patriot. Neither of these views is correct; and the truth, as is generally the case, lies between the two extremes. Mr. De Lancey, undoubtedly, was very ambitious and fond of notoriety; and his love of power and the emoluments of office often led him into the commission of acts from which otherwise he would have shrunk. While he has been praised for his "broad and popular principles," and for his "political skill in successfully preserving to the Assembly the right of annual appropriations," yet he assumed this position more from a determination to displace Clinton, that he himself might rule, than from any love for the people. His course in 1754, in relation to the college charter, alienated his warmest friends; and, although he subsequently bitterly repented of giving his sanction to the act of incorporation, yet it was more on account of his loss of popularity than from any feeling of liberality. He was, however, possessed of many amiable and noble qualities, and private virtues; his disposition was social and genial, and he was withal a good classical scholar and a profound lawyer. His conduct upon the bench was generally irreproachable; and his decisions, in those cases in which the feelings of the political partisan did not enter, were characterized by fairness and discrimination. His death, occurring at this time, was a great loss to the province; for numerous as were his faults he was a man of unquestioned ability. During his long administration he had made himself thoroughly conversant with Indian relations; and since the departure of Clinton had heartily co-operated with Sir William Johnson, the Indian Superintendent, in all his efforts in that department. By his death the political complexion of the province underwent a material change; and Doctor Colden, by virtue of being President of the Council, took the charge of the Government until the wishes of the Ministry were known.

Scarcely had the gloom resulting from the death of Mr. De Lancey been dispelled, when the city was again thrown into excitement—this time, however, from a pleasurable cause. In the October that succeeded the Lieutenant-Governor's death, General Amherst, covered with laurels on account of his conquest of Canada, visited New York. So overjoyed were the citizens at the successful termination of the protracted struggle, that it

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* On the east side of the Bowery, a little above Grand street.

† The little child who discovered him was the *grandfather* of the late Bishop De Lancey, of New York. Miss Booth, in her generally accurate and exceedingly valuable work, states that James De Lancey was the *great* grandfather of the late Bishop. This, however, is a mistake. He was his *grandfather*.

PARKER's

Mail Stage,

From Whiteſtown to Canajoharrie.

THE *Mail leaves Whiteſtown every Monday and Thurſday, at two o'clock P. M. and proceeds to Old Fort Schuyler the ſame evening, next morning ſtarts at four o'clock, and arrives at Canajoharrie in the evening: exchanges paſſengers with the Albany and Cooperſtown ſtages, and the next day returns to Old Fort Schuyler.*

Fare for paſſengers, Two Dollars; way paſſengers, Four Pence per mile; 14*lb. baggage gratis;* 150*wt. rated the ſame as a paſſenger.*

Seats may be had by applying at the Poſt-Office, Whiteſtown, at the houſe of the ſubſcriber, Old Fort Schuyler, or at Captain Roof's, Canajoharrie.

JASON PARKER.

Auguſt, 1795. 8*s*

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seemed as if they could not do too much for him whom they regarded in the light of their preserver from the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Accordingly, upon the arrival of Amherst a public dinner was given him, the freedom of the city presented in a gold box, salutes fired, and the whole city illuminated. Nor, as is too frequently the case with ovations, were these honors undeserved by their recipient, who was as modest as he was brave.

Meanwhile, the work of improving the city rapidly advanced. In the spring of 1761 new streets were opened and paved, among which was Partition street, now Fulton. At the same time the first theater was opened in Beekman street, under the patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor, although the project was strenuously opposed by the Assembly as tending to vitiate and lower the standard of public morals. "During this year, also," says Miss Booth, "the old plan of lighting the streets by lanterns suspended from the windows, was definitely abandoned; and public lamps and lamp-posts were erected in the principal streets, and lighted at the public expense." Laws were also passed regulating the prices of provisions, some of which the same author gives as affording an idea of the prices at that time. Beef was sold at four pence half-penny per pound; pork, five pence half-penny; veal, six pence; butter, fifteen pence; milk, six coppers per quart; and a loaf of bread, of a pound and twelve ounces, four coppers.

In June, 1764, a light-house was erected on Sandy Hook and lighted for the first time. Two ferries were also established the same year; one between Paulus Hook (Jersey City) and New York, and another between Staten Island and Bergen. At the same time the mail between New York and Philadelphia was changed from once a fortnight to twice a week, the distance between the two cities being made in three days.

At an early period in New York the mails, now of such vital importance, were a very insignificant affair.* Even since the American Revolution a saddle-bag boy on horseback, without any protection, carried the mail three times a week between New York and Philadelphia. People wondered at seeing the bags next placed upon a sulky; and were lost in amazement when a four-horse stage became necessary for the increasing load and bulk. Now a large car, several times a day, is found insufficient for the amount of mail matter that passes between those two cities. Then, the post went and returned by way of "Blazing Star," Staten Island. In process of time several new routes were opened to Philadelphia. One crossed the bay to Staten Island in a *perogue*, commonly called a *periagua*, a little open boat with lee-boards, and steered by one man. Reaching the Island the traveler proceeded to the ferry at "Arthur Rolls'" Sound, crossed in a scow to New Jersey,

* On the opposite page will be found a fac simile of an advertisement cut out of an old newspaper kindly given me by the Hon. Theodore Faxton, of Utica, N. Y.

and shortly reached the "Blazing Star," near Woodbridge. Journeying slowly to the Raritan River, New Brunswick was reached by a scow, and in the same manner Trenton on the Delaware, until by the third or fourth day the "City of Brotherly Love" made its appearance. Another route advertised a commodious "stage-boat" to start with goods and passengers from the City Hall Slip (Coenties) twice a week, for Perth Amboy Ferry, and thence by stage-wagon to Cranberry and Burlington, from which point a stage-boat continued the line to Philadelphia; this trip generally required three days. This was long before the days of steam-boats; and these "stage-boats" were small sloops, sailed by a single man and boy, or two men, and passing "outside," as it is still called, by the Narrows and through the "Lower Bay," these small passage-vessels, at times, were driven out to sea, thus oftentimes causing vexatious delays. In very stormy weather the "inside route," through the Kills, was chosen. The most common way to Philadelphia, however, was to cross the North River in a sail-boat, and then the Passaic and Hackensack by scows, reaching the "Quaker City" by stages in about three days. But these passages had their perils. The "Blazing Star Inn" (sign of a comet) lay four or five miles from the Staten Island ferry, and Baron De Kalb, then a Colonel, crossing over here in January, 1768, was the only one of nine passengers not frozen so as to lose life or limb. The open scow sank on a sand-bank and left the whole party exposed all night. When rescued, he alone refused to be warmed by the fire, but placing his feet and legs in cold water, went to bed and arose uninjured. One of his companions died on the scow before succor arrived.

In 1756, the first stage started between New York and Philadelphia —three days through. In 1765, a second stage was advertised for Philadelphia—a covered Jersey wagon—at two pence a mile. The next year another line was begun called the "Flying Machine," with good wagons, seats on springs, time two days, and fare two pence a mile, or twenty shillings through. John Mercereau, at the "Blazing Star," "notifies that persons may go from New York to Philadelphia and back in five days, remaining in Philadelphia two nights and one day; fare, twenty shillings through. There will be two wagons and two drivers, and four sets of horses. The passengers will lodge at Paulus Hook Ferry the night before, to start thence the next morning early."

During the year 1785, the first stages commenced their trips between New York and Albany, with four horses, at four pence a mile, on the east side of the North River, under a special act of the Legislature, for ten years. Ten years afterward this line was extended as far as Whitestone, just beyond Fort Schuyler (Utica).*

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* In this connection it may be mentioned that, during the year 1756, the first British packet-boats commenced sailing from New York to Falmouth, each letter

What a contrast between that day and our own. *Then* news from England five months old was fresh and racy. *Now* we must have it in two hours, and then grumble at the length of time taken by the Atlantic Cable to convey the intelligence. *Then* news seven days old from New York to Boston was swift enough for an express. *Now* if we cannot obtain the news from Washington in less than the same number of minutes, we become almost frantic, and talk of starting new telegraph companies.

"In 1766, the Methodist denomination was first organized in the city by Philip Embury and others; and in 1767, the first church of this sect was erected upon the site of the present one in John, near Nassau street, and like it, christened Wesley Chapel. Several new streets were opened about the same time, among others Cliff street and Park place. For the better prevention of fires, an ordinance was passed directing that all the roofs in the city should be covered with slate or tiles. For some years, however, tiles alone were used, the first building roofed with slate being, it is said, the City Hotel in Broadway, erected about 1794."

It will be recollected that on the death of Mr. De Lancey, the Government had devolved on Dr. Cadwallader Colden, as President of the Council, until the wishes of the Ministry could be ascertained. Shortly after his first speech to the Assembly on the 22d of October, 1760, news arrived of the death of George the Second and the accession of his grandson, and as it was the unanimous opinion of the Provincial Council that the demise of the King dissolved the Assembly, writs were issued for a new one, returnable upon the 3d of March, 1761. Meanwhile, various were the conjectures respecting the name of the future Governor. At one time rumor gave the gubernatorial chair to General Gage; again the public were confident that Thomas Pownal would be the fortunate man. Some few suggested Colden, and others General Monckton. All surmises were at length set at rest. Pownal received the Governorship of Jamaica, Gage remained at Montreal, and Colden, having been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, announced to the Assembly that his Majesty had been pleased "to distinguish the services of Major-General Monckton by constituting him his Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province." The new Governor, however, did not long occupy the gubernatorial chair, for, preferring the excitement of arms to the cares and troubles of office, he, like Governor Hardy, requested to be allowed to resume his old profession. Accordingly, having produced his commission to the council and taken the oaths of office, he sailed from

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carried "to pay four-penny weight of silver." It is also worth noticing here, that the earliest voyage to China from New York, was made during the year 1785, in the ship Empress, Captain Greene. The same year Captain Dean performed the same voyage in an Albany sloop—a feat at that day more remarkable than the sailing of the little "Red, White and Blue," across the Atlantic a few months since.

New York on the last day of November, 1761, leaving the government in the hands of Doctor Colden.

The administration of Doctor Colden was at first marked by no event of special moment, and the intercourse between himself and his Assembly, if we except the slight opposition against the theater in Beekman street, was of the most amiable character. But this calm was to be of short duration, for shortly after receiving his commission of Lieutenant-Governor, he was instrumental in an act which set not only the Assembly, but the whole province in a blaze. As by the death of Mr. De Lancey, the seat of Chief-Justice had become vacant, a general wish was expressed by the community that the vacancy should at once be filled. The three remaining judges, Horsmanden, Chambers and Jones, having doubts as to their ability to issue processes under their old commissions since the death of the King, likewise urged the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint a successor without delay. Colden, however, was more concerned for his own and his family's advancement than for the welfare of the colony. In the same letter in which he announced to the Lords of Trade the death of De Lancey, he had recommended his eldest son for the seat at the Council Board, made vacant by the Lieutenant-Governor's death, and in the same fawning and grasping spirit he now desired the Earl of Halifax, the Colonial Secretary of State, to nominate a Chief-Justice. The result was, not only the nomination, but the actual appointment of Benjamin Pratt, a Boston lawyer, to the seat, not, as had been usual before the death of his late Majesty, "during good behavior," but "at the pleasure of the King."

The appointment, in this manner and at this time, was peculiarly unfortunate. The sister colony of Massachusetts was now writhing under the "writs of assistance," which the British Ministry had so recklessly determined to force upon the colonies. These "writs" had been requested by the custom-house officers to enable them the better to enforce the revenue. They were in effect search-warrants, and whoever held them might with impunity break open a citizen's house and violate the sanctity of his dwelling. The inhabitants were justly incensed at this exercise of arbitrary power, and the more so, as they saw no disposition on the part of those in authority to resist this infringement upon their liberties. Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, scrupled not to become the tool of the Earl of Egremont, Pitt's successor, and boldly declared himself in favor of adopting the odious plan of the Crown for increasing the revenue. Hutchinson, the Chief-Justice of the province, was equally subservient to the royal authority. An opportunity, however, soon came in which the temper of the people found vent. A petition having been presented to the Superior Court by the officers of the customs that "writs of assistance" might ensue, the question was argued at length in February (1761) before the Chief-Justice and his four asso-

ciate justices. Jeremiah Gridley, on behalf of the Crown, argued for the legality of the writ, on the ground that as the writ was allowed to the revenue officers in England, to refuse the same powers to the colonial officers, would be to deny that "the Parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of the British empire."

The fearless and impulsive James Otis, who had resigned his office as Advocate-General, that, untrammeled, he might argue this case against the Crown, appeared for the people of Boston. "These writs," he exclaimed, "are the worst instruments of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law." With impassioned eloquence, he showed to the court the nature of these writs. "In the first place," he said, "the writ is universal, being directed to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects, so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the King's dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner. Also may control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm. In the next place, it is perpetual. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. * * * In the third place, a person with this writ, in the day time may enter all houses, shops, &c., at will, and command all to assist him. Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle, and whilst he is quiet he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please. We are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way, and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court may inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient; and," continued he, "I am determined to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life to the sacred calls of my country in opposition to a kind of power which cost one King of England his head and another his throne, and to my dying day I will oppose, with all the power and faculties that God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand and villainy on the other!"

At the next term of the court, the writ of assistance was granted, but such was the feeling of the people that the custom-house officers, although having the writs in their pockets, dared not in a single instance carry them into execution. But although the arguments of Otis failed to procure a decision in favor of the people, yet they did not die within the walls of the court-house. Caught up by his hearers, they were borne, as if on the wind, throughout the length and breadth of the land. "I do say in the most solemn manner," writes Mr. Adams, "that Mr. Otis' oration against writs of assistance, breathed into this nation the breath of life."

With these stirring appeals of James Otis ringing in their ears, it may readily be supposed that the people of New York were in no mood for this further encroachment upon their liberties. "To make the King's will," said they, "the term of office, is to make the bench of judges the instrument of the royal prerogative." Chambers, Horsmanden, and Jones refused to act longer unless they could hold their commissions during good behavior. Champions at once arose to do battle for the people. Conspicuous among these were William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and William Smith, all prominent lawyers and vigorous thinkers and writers; and they protested through the public prints against this attempt to render the judiciary dependent upon the Crown. Nor were their efforts entirely fruitless, for in the answer of the Assembly on the 17th of December, to the request of Dr. Colden that the usual salary of three hundred pounds to the Chief-Justice should be increased, it was resolved "that as the salaries allowed for the Judges of the Supreme Court have been and still appear to be sufficient to engage gentlemen of the first figure, both as to capacity and fortune in the colony, to accept of these offices, it would be highly improper to augment the salary of Chief-Justice on this occasion;" nor would they allow even the usual salary unless the commissions of the Chief-Justice and the other Judges were granted during good behavior. To this Colden refused to accede, and Chief-Justice Pratt, having served several terms without a salary, was finally reimbursed out of his Majesty's quit-rents of the province.

Thus were the people of New York following in the wake of their Puritan neighbors. Colden himself, as if he had some glimmerings of the future, began to doubt the result. "For some years past," he wrote to the Board of Trade, "three popular lawyers educated in Connecticut, who have strongly imbibed the independent principles of that country, calumniate the administration in every exercise of the prerogative, and get the applause of the mass by propagating the doctrine that all authority is derived from the people."

It was in the fall of 1763 that George Grenville and Lord North first devised the plan of raising a revenue by the sale of stamps to the colonists. Grenville, however, hesitated long before pressing this measure; and it was not until the 22d of March, of this year, that the Stamp Act passed, and received the signature of the King. The Act declared that thenceforth, no legal instrument should possess any validity in the colonies unless it was stamped by the Government.* Long before the passage of the Act, the rumor that such a project was even meditated by the Ministry produced a universal outburst of indignation. If Parliament wished to raise any sum, said the colonists, let them employ the usual method of

* "By this act, a ream of bail bonds *stamped* was £100; a ream of common printed ones before, was £15; a ream of *stamped* policies of insurance was £190; of common ones, without stamps, £20."—*Bradford, Mass.*, i., 12.

writing circular letters to the provinces, requesting supplies according to the ability of each. When thus applied to heretofore, the King had never found them remiss, but on the contrary—as their loyal obedience to these requisitions during the last war had fully shown—they had always responded with alacrity. Taxation, however, without representation in Parliament, was tyranny, to which they would not submit. These views were advocated with great power by James Otis in a series of pamphlets; and the public prints teemed with similar discussions, all of which were read with care and reflection. The Assemblies of Virginia and New York especially, by their protests, took firm ground against the passage of the Act, but the petition of the former body was not received in England until it was too late, while that of the latter was so intemperate in its expressions against the newly-assumed pretensions of the Parliament, that the agent, Mr. Charles, was unable to find any member of that body bold enough to present it.

It may, therefore, readily be seen, that if the mere intimation that such an odious measure was in contemplation, produced so much solicitude, the passage of the Act itself was not calculated to allay the growing apprehensions of the people. But it was no sudden ebullition of indignation that first manifested itself. Indeed, so amazed were the colonists at the presumption of Parliament, that when the news was first received their feelings were too deep for utterance. Hutchinson, the Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, mistaking this for submission, hastened to write to the Ministry that "his countrymen were waiting, not to consider if they must submit to a stamp-duty, but to know when its operation was to commence." He knew not that this calm was but the stillness which preceded the tornado that was to sweep with such desolating fury throughout the land! He was shortly undeceived. Mutterings began to be heard in every province, which, in New England and New York, soon grew into acts of violence. On the 14th of August, Andrew Oliver, the brother-in-law of the Chief-Justice, who had received the appointment of Stamp-Distributer for Massachusetts, was, together with Lord Bute, suspended in effigy from a tree in one of the streets of Boston. In reply to the command of the Chief-Justice to take down those figures, the Sheriff gave a flat refusal; and the Council of the Province likewise declined to interfere. That same night, the mob, taking the images down, carried them to the newly-erected Stamp-Office, which they immediately razed. Oliver's dwelling was next assailed, the windows and furniture demolished, and the effigies burned on Fort Hill. The next day, Oliver resigned; but he was obliged, the same evening, to make a public recantation at a bonfire which the populace had kindled. But, having once given vent to their long pent-up exasperation, they did not stop here. Urged on by a popular preacher, Jonathan Mayhew by name, who had taken for his text the previous day, "I would they were even

cut off which trouble you," they destroyed, on the 26th, the records and files of the Court of Admiralty, and breaking into the house of Hallowel, the Comptroller of Customs, broke the furniture, and freely drank of the choice wines in the cellar. To their just anger were now added the fumes of liquor, and proceeding forthwith to the residence of Hutchinson, they tore the paintings from the walls, destroyed the plate, and scattered his large and valuable library of books and manuscripts to the winds; nor did they depart until the interior of the building, even to the partition-walls, was completely demolished. Happily, Hutchinson and his innocent family, having received timely notice of their danger, had escaped before the arrival of the rioters—otherwise, the crime of murder might have been added to these violent and disgraceful proceedings.

In Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, the popular indignation showed itself in similar demonstrations, though not of so violent a character. The effect, however, in those provinces was the same; each of the Stamp-Distributers being forced to resign to save himself from odium, if not from death.

Meantime, the Assembly of Massachusetts resolved, on the 6th of June, that "it was highly expedient there should be a meeting, as soon as might be, of committees from the Houses of Representatives or Burgesses in the several colonies, to consult on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they were and must be reduced, and to consider of a General Congress—to be held at New York the first Tuesday of October." To this invitation the colonies heartily responded, and in the Convention, held at the time and place designated, they were all represented, except New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The three latter, however, although prevented by their Governors, by continued adjournments, from sending delegates, signified by letters their willingness to acquiesce in whatever measures the Convention might adopt; so also, wrote New Hampshire. Lieutenant-Governor Colden, who had from the beginning pronounced the Convention unconstitutional and unlawful, likewise endeavored, by successive adjournments, to prevent the Assembly of New York from electing delegates. But an Assembly that had driven Clinton from his chair, and had successfully fought through so many years against a permanent support, was not to be thus easily foiled; and a committee appointed by them in October, 1764, to correspond with their sister colonies upon recent acts of Parliament in relation to trade, now took their seats in the Congress as the representatives of the people of New York.

Timothy Ruggles, who had been sent by Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, to thwart the patriotic efforts of his colleagues, was chosen President of the Congress, and John Cotton, Clerk. No time was lost. Committees were immediately appointed to draft petitions to Parliament, having for their burden the Stamp Act; and after a har-

monious session of fourteen days, the Convention dissolved, having adopted a declaration of rights, a petition to the King, and a memorial to both Houses of Parliament—the latter being drawn by James Otis.

As before remarked, the people of New York were among the most bitter opponents of the Stamp Act. While the riots were going on in Boston, the Act itself was reprinted and hawked about the streets of New York City, as "The folly of England, and ruin of America." Secret organizations styling themselves the "Sons of Liberty," met to discuss plans of resistance. Warned by the example of his brother appointees, in the neighboring colonies, McEvers, the Stamp-Distributer, resigned. General Gage, at the solicitation of Colden, ordered down, in July, from Crown Point, a company of the Sixtieth Regiment, for the defense of Fort George, the guns of which were remounted, new ordnance ordered, and the magazine replenished with a bountiful supply of ammunition. On the arrival of the first cargo of stamps in the harbor, toward the end of October, placards were posted up in the streets and at the Merchants' Coffee-House, of which the following is a copy:

"PRO PATRIA.

"*The first man that either distributes or makes use of stampt paper, let him take care of his house, person, and effects.*

"VOX POPULI.

"WE DARE."

Terrified at signs he could not misunderstand, the Lieutenant-Governor had the stamps conveyed for greater security to the fort; and in great trepidation summoned the members of his privy council for their advice. But notwithstanding he sent repeated messages, and notwithstanding also, that seven members were in the city, only three, Horsmanden, Smith, and Reid, responded to his call, and they declined giving any advice unless there was a fuller Board. In this state of affairs, nothing was left to Colden but to shut himself up in the fort, and await the result. He was not long in suspense.

On the 1st of November, the day appointed for the Stamp Act to go into operation, the popular indignation, which had been so long smouldering, burst forth. Early in the evening, the Sons of Liberty, numbering several thousand, appeared before the fort and demanded the stamps. On being refused, they proceeded to the open fields—a portion of which is now the Park— and having erected a gibbet, they hung the Lieutenant-Governor in effigy, and suspended by his side a figure, holding in his hand a boot, representing Lord Bute.* The images after hanging

*Colden, it is true, in a letter under date of November 5th to Secretary Conway, says that the image suspended by the side of his effigy was intended to represent the devil. In a manuscript letter, however, now before me, written by

some little time, were taken down and carried, together with the scaffold, in a torch-light procession to the gates of the fort. Having in vain knocked on the gates for admission, the mob broke into Colden's carriage-house, brought forth the family-coach, placed inside of it the two effigies, and having again paraded them around the city, returned to within one hundred yards of the fort-gate, and hung the figures upon a second gallows erected for that purpose. A bonfire was then made of part of the wooden fence, which, at that time, surrounded the Bowling Green, and the effigies, together with the Lieutenant-Governor's coach, a single-horse chair, two sleighs, and several light vehicles were cast into the flames and entirely consumed. While the flames were lighting up the black muzzles of the guns of the fort, another party, having spiked the cannon on the Battery, proceeded to the house of Major James, an artillery officer, who had made himself especially obnoxious by his having aided in putting the fort in a suitable posture for defense, and having burned everything of value, returned in triumph, bringing with them the colors of the Royal Artillery Regiment.

When McEvers resigned, Colden had sneered; but even he was now compelled to give way. The day after the riot, he caused a large placard to be posted up, signed by Goldsbrow Banyar, the Deputy-Secretary of the Council, stating that he should have nothing more to do with the stamps, but would leave them with Sir Henry Moore, Bart., who was then on his way from England to assume the government. This declaration, however, did not satisfy the Sons of Liberty. Through their leader, Isaac Sears, they insisted that the stamped paper should be immediately delivered into their hands, threatening, in case of a refusal, to storm the fort where it was deposited. The Common Council, alarmed at the uncontrolable fury of the mob, and fearing an effusion of blood, added, likewise, their solicitation that the stamps might be deposited in the City Hall. In answer to this latter request, the cause of the dispute was delivered up, after considerable negotiation, to the Corporation—the Board giving a pledge to make good all the stamps that might be lost.

But if the spirit of the mob could not be subdued, it might at least be guided. On the 6th of November, a meeting of the more conservative citizens was called, and Sears, with four others,* was authorized to correspond with the several colonies upon the new and alarming feature of the

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Alexander Colden, his son, to Sir William Johnson, a month after, and when the facts therefore could be better ascertained, the excitement having partially subsided, the writer says that the second image was designed for *Lord Bute.* The *boot* has now significance as a *rebus* of Lord Bute which before it had not. "His Lordship's [John Stewart, Earl of Bute] established type with the mob was a jack-boot a wretched pun on his Christian name and title."—*Maccauley's Essay on the Earl of Chatham.*

* These were John Lamb, Gushom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson.

prerogative of Parliament. The committee thus appointed entered into their work with zeal, the fruits of which soon become apparent. A resolution, emanating from New York and adopted by the other colonies, directed the English merchants to ship no more goods to America, and declared that no more goods coming from England should be sold on commission in the colonies after the first day of January, 1766. Nor did the patriotism of the people end here. The wearing of cloth of British manufacture was dispensed with, coarse home-spun garments taking its place. Marriages were no longer performed by licenses, upon which the Stamp Act had now laid duty, but were solemnized by being proclaimed in church. Everywhere resistance to kingly oppression was the watch-word.

The new Governor, Sir Henry Moore, Bart., who had been appointed, in June, to succeed General Monckton, arrived in New York the beginning of November, 1765, after a tedious passage of ten weeks. When he first landed he was disposed to assume a haughty tone in relation to the Stamp Act. The Corporation offered him the freedom of the city in a gold box, but he refused to accept it unless upon stamped paper. The custom-house cleared vessels, but the men-of-war ran out their guns and refused to allow them to leave the harbor, unless they produced a certificate from the Governor that no stamps were to be had. This the latter declined to give, and the vessels remained at the wharfs. The spectacle, however, of Colden quaking with fear in the fort, and the judicious advice of his council, soon convinced him of the folly of any attempt to carry the Act into execution; and before his first meeting with the Assembly, he openly announced that he had suspended his power to execute the Stamp Act. To still further appease the people he dismantled the fort, very much to the disgust of the Lieutenant-Governor, who, not having been consulted, retired in chagrin to his country-seat at Flushing.

Owing to the successive adjournments by Colden, the General Assembly met, for the first time this year, on the 13th of November. Only fourteen members, however, answering to their names, the Speaker announced the appointment of Sir Henry Moore to the government, and adjourned the Assembly to the 19th.

The severest test, perhaps, of public opinion at this time, is to be found in the Governor's opening address, which was brief and general, and contained not the slightest allusion to the existing troubles. The answer of the House was equally guarded; each party seeming to be averse to broach a topic that was so unpleasant to the other. But if the Assembly were unwilling to allude in their address to that which was now upon every mind, they showed no indisposition to handle it among themselves. Among their first resolutions was one, not only approving the action of the committee in meeting with the Congress in October, but tendering them also, their warmest thanks for the part which they had taken in the deliberations of that body. In connection with this resolu-

tion they further resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that for obtaining relief from the operation and execution of the Act of Parliament called the Stamp Act, humble petitions be presented to his Majesty, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, as nearly similar to those drawn up by the late Congress as the particular circumstances of the colony will admit of." A committee was therefore appointed to draw up the three petitions, which, signed by William Nicoll, the Speaker, were forwarded, in the name of the House, to Mr. Charles and John Sargeant, the colony's agents in London.

But the action of the Assembly did not keep pace with the public requirements; at least, so thought the Sons of Liberty. On the 26th, a sealed letter was handed by an unknown person to Mr. Lott, Clerk of the House, directed "TO MR. LOTT, MERCH'T. IN NEW YORK," and ran as follows:

"On receiving you are to read the in closed in the open Assembly of this Province New York as you are clark and whare of fail not on your perrel.

(Signed) "FREEDOM."

The inclosed letter was directed "*To the General Assembly of the Province of New York*," and was in the following words:

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, you are to Consider what is to be Done first Drawing of as much money from the Lieut. Governor's Sallery as will Repare the fort & on Spike the Guns on the Battery & the nex a Repeal of the Gunning Act & then there will be a good Militia but not before & also as you are asetting you may Consider of the Building Act as it is to take place nex yeare which it Cannot for there is no supply of Some Sort of materials Required this Law is not Ground on Reasons but there is a great many Reasons to the Contrary so Gentlemen we desire you will Do what lays in your power for the Good of the public but if you take this ill be not so Conceited as to Say or think that other People know nothing about Government you have made their laws and say they are Right but they are Rong and take a way Leberty. Oppressions of your make Gentlemen make us Sons of Liberty think you are not for the Public Liberty this is the General Opinion of the People for this part of Your Conduct.

"1765 "by order "Sign'd, one & all.
"Nov'r 26

"FREEDOM."

Both of these letters—which, by the way, bear on their face unmistakeable evidence of their being designedly written in this illiterate manner, probably for the greater disguise*—were laid before the House by the Clerk, who dared not refuse. But the Assembly were not disposed to have any such gratuitous advice; nor was their patriotism yet attuned to the same accord with that of the writer. However much, moreover, hey might be disposod themselves, to criticise the unpopular Colden, tthey did not choose to be instructed by the ironical suggestion in rela tion to the Lieutenant-Governor's salary and the spiked guns. They

* The entire absence of punctuation in the same letter, with the correct abbreviation of *Sign'd* and *Nov'r.*, and the correct spelling of the more difficult words, show clearly the marks of design.

therefore resolved, that the said letters were rebellious, scandalous, and seditions; that they were designed to inflame the minds of the good people of the colony against their representatives; and that an address should be presented to the Governor requesting him to offer a reward of fifty pounds for their author or authors, that they might be brought to "condign punishment;" pledging themselves, at the same time, to provide the means of defraying the above reward.

On the 3d of December, the Governor, by Mr. Banyar, sent down a message to the House, in which the latter was informed that by the Mutiny Act, passed during the last session of Parliament, the expense of furnishing the King's troops in America with quarters and other necessaries, was to be defrayed by the several colonies. In consequence thereof the Commander-in-Chief had demanded that provision be made for the troops, whether quartered within or marching through the province; and it was now requested to make provision accordingly.

This request was at this time exceedingly inopportune. It involved a question which, in Lord Loudoun's time—when the country was engaged in a disastrous war, and when, therefore, there was a seeming necessity for such provision—had been productive of ill-feeling, and almost of riots. It may readily be seen, therefore, that when no such necessity existed, and when the public mind was in such an excited state, the Assembly were in no mood to comply. The message was accordingly referred to a committee of the whole House, of which Robert R. Livingston was the chairman. On the 19th they reported against it, on the following grounds: that when his Majesty's forces were quartered in barracks belonging to the King, they were always furnished with necessaries without any expense to the counties in which they were quartered; and that if any expense was necessary for quartering troops on their march, and supplying them with what was required by the Act, the House would consider thereof after the expense was incurred. Sir Henry Moore was too prudent a man to press the matter further; and having satisfied his duty to the Crown by the formal demand for quarters, he allowed the matter to drop for the present.

The Sons of Liberty were still in the ascendant. The last week in November, two hundred of them crossed over to Flushing, and compelled the Maryland Stamp-Distributer, who had fled thither for safety, to sign a resignation of his office. In December, ten boxes of stamps were seized on their arrival in port and consumed in a bonfire. "We are in a shocking situation at present," wrote Alexander Colden to Sir William Johnson, with whom the former was on terms of intimacy, "and God knows how it will end. Its not safe for a person to speak, for their is no knowing friend from foe."

Opposition to the Stamp Act still continued. In January, 1766, a committee from the Sons of Liberty waited upon six persons in Albany and

requested them to take an oath that they would not accept the office of Stamp-Distributer. All but Henry Van Schaack, the Albany post-master, having complied, the mob went to the latter's house, a little below the city, broke the windows, furniture, and the piazza, and taking his pleasure-sleigh into town, consumed it in a bonfire. Alarmed at these demonstrations, Van Schaack took the required oath, and the mob dispersed.

In New York City, the committee, of which Isaac Sears was chairman, were still active. Having astertained by their secret agents in Philadelphia that a merchant, Lewis Pintard, had sent to that city a mediterranean pass and a bond on stamped paper, they waited upon the merchant and also upon the naval officer who had given the pass, on the 12th of January, and compelling them to appear on the Common, forced them to swear before a crowd of eight thousand people, that the passes which they had signed and delivered were not stamped to their knowledge. Not satisfied, however, with this declaration, the committee conducted them to the coffee-house, before which a bonfire had been kindled, and obliged Pintard to commit the passes to the flames with his own hands. On the following day, Governor Moore, who, being of a timid and amiable nature, had a dread of becoming unpopular, sent for one of the committee, and said, in the course of the conversation, that he hoped the "gentlemen, his associates," did not suspect him of being cognizant of the mediterranean passes. Upon being informed that they did not, the Governor further stated, that he had solicited this interview to assure the Sons of Liberty, that not only was he ignorant of that transaction, but that he would have nothing to do with any stamps whatever.

Alarmed at the rapid growth of republican principles in America, the seeds of which had been sown by its own folly, Parliament, on the 18th of March, repealed the obnoxious Act. The British Legislature, however, yielded not with a good grace. "The colonists," wrote Sir William Baker to the Baronet, "must not think that these lenient methods were brought about by the inducements of their violence."* Fearing, therefore, that their action would be misconstrued, Parliament hastened, almost simultaneously with the repeal of the Stamp Act, to pass a bill, declaring the absolute right the King and Parliament "*to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain in all cases whatsoever.*"

In the first delirium of delight at the repeal, the news of which was

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* "I hope the last session of Parliament has conciliated the North Americans to their mother country; but at the same time it must be expected from them obedience to the laws of this government. The colonists must not think these lenient methods made use of by that administration were brought about by the inducement of their violence; but was really the effect of conviction that the rash act past the two preceding sessions was unwarrantable and oppressive."—*M. S.; Sir William Baker to Johnson, Nov. 7th,* 1766.

communicated to the colonists by their agents, on the 16th of May, the tendency of the Declaratory Act was not heeded. In New York City, especially, the populace seemed wild with joy. Bells were rung, a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired, and the city illuminated. On the 4th of June, the King's birthday, the Governor had an ox roasted whole, a hogshead of rum and twenty-five barrels of beer opened, and the people invited to join in the feast. On the same day a mast was erected, inscribed "To his most Gracious Majesty, George the Third, Mr. Pitt, and Liberty." But the enthusiasm of the people did not end here. On the 23d of June a meeting was held, at which a petition was signed by a majority of the citizens, requesting the Assembly to erect a statue to William Pitt, as a mark of their appreciation of his services in repealing the Stamp Act. That body entered fully into the feelings of the people; and besides complying with the wishes of their constituents, in relation to Pitt, they made provision for an equestrian statue to his Majesty, George the Third; and also voted their thanks, and a piece of plate, to John Sargeant, "for his services as special agent," during the Stamp Act controversy.

The opening speech of Governor Moore to the Assembly, on the 12th of June, began by adverting to the general satisfaction diffused among the people by the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was the impression made on the minds of the people by this act of his Majesty's favor, that had induced the Governor, so early, to call the Legislature, in order to give them the earliest opportunity of making those acknowledgments of duty and submission, which, on such an occasion, his Excellency thought must arise in the bosom of every individual. It then spoke of the impositions upon the credulity of the people by the misrepresentations of artful and designing men. "Let it be your concern," it continued, "to undeceive the deluded, and by your example, bring back to a sense of their duty, those who have been misled, that nothing which can carry with it the least resemblance of former heat and prejudice may be suffered to prevail, and the minds of those who are too easily agitated be again disposed too a cheerful obedience to the laws, and to sentiments of respectful gratitude to the mother country." Their attention was next directed to the care of those unfortunate persons who had suffered from the "licentiousness of the populace for their deference to the British Legislature," and they were requested to make full and ample compensation for the goods and effects of the sufferers, that had been destroyed. This latter suggestion was owing to circular letters from the Minister to the provincial Governors, requesting the colonial Assemblies to show their "respectful gratitude for the forbearance of Parliament," by indemnifying those who had suffered injury in attempting to execute the late Act. In connection with the opening speech, petitions were handed in by Lieutenant-Governor Colden and Major James, praying the Assembly to make good

their losses by the recent riots. These petitions were thereupon referred to a committee of the whole House, who reported favorably upon the claims of Major James, but passed over in silence those of the Lieutenant-Governor—very much to the chagrin of the latter, who forthwith wrote a letter to Conway, begging him to lay his case before the King, that his losses might be recompensed by a pension.

The Governor now ventured again to request of the Assembly its compliance with the demands of the Ministry in relation to the quartering of troops, a large body of whom was shortly expected from England. But, although the House had joined with the Council in an humble address to the King, thanking him for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and although, moreover, it was perfectly willing to vote statues to his Majesty and William Pitt, it was no more disposed to comply with this demand, now that Parliament had yielded to its wishes, than it was at the previous session, when the Stamp Act was in full force. The House accordingly voted a series of resolutions similiar in tone to those passed November, 1765, and postponed further discussion on the subject until the troops had arrived. A second message, however, from Sir Henry Moore, induced it to alter its determination so far, as to state that the appropriations of 1762 were at his disposal, and might be applied towards providing barracks, fire-wood, and candles for two battalions and one company of artillery for one year. Beyond this, however, it would not go; and the Governor, while he was obliged to be content with this decision, wrote at the same time to the Lords of Trade, that its partial compliance was more the result of compulsion, than of gratitude for recent favors; and that, in his opinion, every act of Parliament, unless backed by a sufficient power to enforce it, would meet with the same fate.

Meanwhile, troubles had arisen in Dutchess County, which, although in no way connected with the issues between the colonies and the mother country, at first threatened serious consequences. In the beginning of 1766, the Stockbridge Indians, feeling aggrieved by the intrusions, as they claimed, of some of the people of Dutchess upon their lands, broke into the houses of the alleged trespassers, and turned their families out of doors. As is generally the case on such occasions, several of the vagabond class of whites, very ready for a fray, joined the rioters, and committed acts of violence throughout the country. The excitement now extended into Albany County; and the mob, now grown to formidable dimensions, threatened to attack New York City, and, indeed, actually began their march thither. In this exigency, General Gage (at that time Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's troops in America) ordered up, to meet the insurgents, the Twenty-eighth Regiment, which had just arrived from England. The appearance of the troops soon brought the rioters to reason; and having succeeded—though not without bloodshed—in restoring order, they returned to New York with the chief ringleaders of the rebellion.

The joyous feelings, which had followed the repeal of the Stamp Act, was of not long continuance. Hardly had the first gratulations of victory passed, and sober reflection taken its place, when the Declaratory Act, in all its ominous proportions, loomed up, overshadowing the public mind with gloomy forebodings. The persistent attempt, moreover, to force the province into a compliance with the Mutiny Act—an act, which, to thinking men, seemed intended to provide the nucleus of a standing army—alarmed all classes; and secret leagues were at once formed in most of the colonies, the object of which was to further union of council in resisting oppression. The partial compliance of the Assembly to the requisition of the Governor for quarters, had been exceedingly distasteful to the Sons of Liberty, who, upon the arrival of the troops, made no disguise of their feelings. Mutual animosities accordingly arose between the citizens and soldiery, which soon culminated in open acts of hostility. On the 10th of August, 1766, some of the troops, exasperated at the people, to whose influence they attributed the action of the Assembly in depriving them of liquor, cut down the flag-staff, which, with so much apparent unanimity, had been dedicated to "Pitt and Liberty." The following evening, while the citizens were preparing to re-erect the pole, they were assaulted by the soldiers with drawn bayonets, and several of them, among whom was Isaac Sears, were wounded. Governor Moore, who heartly wished the troops away, attempted, with General Gage, to restrain these outrages, and, to some extent, succeeded; but the officers, intent upon gratifying their private malice, winked at the conduct of their men, who, thus encouraged, became more violent than ever. Several dwellings of the poorer class, situated in the suburbs of the city were broken into on the 23d of October; and, on he 3d day of November, the domestic sanctuary of an honest drayman was entered by a soldier, who, while he wounded its occupant, hesitated not to hamstring his horse, upon which he relied for his daily bread.

These licentious proceedings were not calculated to dispose the Assembly any more favorably to the attempt to quarter the oboxious redcoats at their expense. Accordingly, when, on the 17th of November, Governor Moore laid before that body instructions from the Minister, informing them of the King's displeasure at their conduct; their absolute duty to obey the Acts of Parliament; and of his wish that provision for the troops should be immediately made, they refused outright to make further provision, choosing to interpret the Act as referring solely "to soldiers on the march." On this refusal, Governor Moore waited upon the House, and endeavored to prevail upon them to alter their determination. His efforts, however, were unavailing; and having, by the defiant attitude thus assumed, no other alternative left, he prorogued the Assembly on the 19th of December.

Already the British Cabinet regretted the repeal of the Stamp Act;

and the project of taxing America was again resumed. The extravagant demonstrations of delight, manifested by the colonists at the repeal, had been regarded by British statesmen with ill-concealed disgust; and when, in May, 1767, the news was received that Georgia, following the example of New York, had also declined obedience to the Mutiny Act, the chagrin at having yielded became open and undisguised. Accordingly, in the same month, Tounshend introduced a bill into the House of Commons, imposing a duty on all paper, glass, tea, and painters' colors imported into the colonies. In its passage through Parliament the bill met with scarcely any opposition, and on the 28th of June it received the cordial assent and signature of the King. This was shortly followed by another, "to establish Commissioners of Customs in America," and also by one "to compensate the stamp officers who had been deprived by the people." But by far the most important in its consequences was another, which received the royal assent on the 29th, and which declared that the *functions of the Assembly of New York were henceforth annulled*—the Governor and Council being forbidden to give their assent to any act passed by that body, "until the Mutiny Act was unequivocally acknowledged and submitted to." The rebellious people of the colonies, said the authors of this Act, must be brought to unqualified submission, and the supremacy of Parliament be maintained.

This latter Act, by far the deadliest blow that had yet been struck at their liberties, excited the utmost consternation throughout the American provinces. It was at once seen that if Parliament could, at pleasure, disfranchise a sister colony, the same fate might, at any time, overtake the others. "This Act," wrote Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, "hangs like a flaming sword over our heads, and requires, by all means, to be removed." The citizens of Boston, sympathizing deeply with the people of New York, expressed, in no measured terms, their indignation at what they styled ministerial tyranny. Tyranny it indeed was, and of the most inexcusable kind, inasmuch as it was not, as some have supposed, a tyranny into which the British Ministry were led blindly, or through ignorance of the consequences. "It is strange," says an elegant English writer,* "that the British Goverment should not have been apprehensive of the great and increasing danger in which its colonial dominion was involved." It is not, however, strange. The British government did it with open eyes, and clearly foresaw the results toward which its colonial policy was fast tending; for while, in the spring of this year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was pushing forward his schemes of taxation, General Gage was putting Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point on a thorough war footing, and Carleton, the Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, was adding new defenses to Quebec. "These measures," wrote the latter to the Commander-in-Chief, "will link these two provinces—New York and

* Graham.

Quebec—so strongly together, as will add great security to both, and will facilitate the transfer of ten or fifteen thousand men, in the beginning of a war, from one to another, as circumstances may require;" and in the same letter the writer suggests that a "place of arms" should be immediately established in New York, "for," he adds, "no pains, address, nor expense is too great, that will give security to the King's magazines; divide the Northern and Southern colonies; and afford an opportunity of transporting our forces into any part of the continent."

The Assembly having expired by its septennial limitation on the 6th of February, 1768, writs were issued for a new election, returnable on the 22d of the following month. Owing, however, to the Governor having no special business to lay before the House, the new Assembly was not convened until the 27th of October. The opening speech of the Governor related chiefly to the Indian trade, which his Majesty had been pleased henceforward to confide to the colonies. "The advantages," said the Governor, "arising, not only from the intercourse of trade with the Indians, but from the maintenance of that tranquility among them which subsists at present, are so obvious, as to require no arguments to enforce them. I shall, therefore, only recommend to you, that, to avoid any future cause of dissatisfaction or jealousy being given, you will, by the most effectual laws, prevent any settlements being made beyond the line which shall be agreed on by the Indians." In their reply, on the 3d of November, the House expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Governor in any measures for the better regulation of the Indian trade; and, indeed, for the first two weeks of the session, nothing occurred to ruffle the general harmony of its proceedings. The critical posture of the province to the mother country, however, forbade that this state of quiescence should be lasting; and it was not long before a direct issue arose between the Governor and his Assembly.

The right of Parliament to tax America was still discussed with great freedom in all the colonies, but in none with more vigor than in Massachusetts. In February, the Assembly of that province had addressed a circular letter, drafted by Samuel Adams, to her sister colonies, in which the "great evils to which the inhabitants of America were subjected from the operation of several acts of Parliament imposing taxes upon them," were set forth, and their co-operation solicited in obtaining redress. This proceeding, as may readily be imagined, gave great offense to the Ministry; and Lord Hillsborough forthwith addressed a letter upon the subject to the several colonial Governors, requesting that their Assemblies should treat the circular letter with silent contempt. But the resentment of the mother country toward Massachusetts was not satisfied. It was determined to still further disgrace her, by detaching a strong military force to occupy her capital. The rumor that such a step was meditated by the Crown caused considerable comment, and

when, on the 28th of September, two British regiments, accompanied by seven men-of-war, arrived at Boston from Halifax, the indignation, not only in Massachusetts, but in those colonies that sympathized with her, became intense. In Connecticut numerous town-meetings were held, in which it was resolved, first, "to seek the Lord, by general fasting, prayer, and humiliation, and then to call a convention of ninety-two persons to determine what was to be done in the present difficulties and distress." In New York City, especially, the Sons of Liberty felt deeply the indignity offered to their sister colony; and in their first ebullition of anger, indignation meetings were held, and Governor Bernard and his Sheriff burned in effigy.

Such was the state of public sentiment, when, on the 14th of November, Sir Henry Moore laid before the House the Earl of Hillsborough's letter, forbidding correspondence with Massachusetts, and called upon it to render a cheerful obedience to the wishes of the Secretary. This action of the Governor was met by a warm remonstrance from the Assembly; and when, a few days after, the former threatened to dissolve it in case of its not complying, it unhesitatingly refused obedience. The bold stand thus assumed was warmly seconded by public opinion, as appears conspicuously in the newspapers and private correspondence of the day. A series of articles, which had recently appeared under the title of "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," had paved the way for a fearless utterance against ministerial oppression. "Let these truths," said the leaders of the people in New York, "be indelibly impressed upon our minds, that we cannot be free without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed by Parliament do thus take it away; that duties, laid for the sole purpose of raising money, are taxes; and that attempts to lay such should be instantly and firmly opposed."

While, however, the Assembly were thus firm in maintaining its constitutional rights and privileges, it evinced no disposition to countenance acts of lawless violence; and in reply to a message from the Governor on the 23d, asking its aid in bringing to punishment the ringleaders in a recent riot, it reported a series of resolutions which distinctly set forth, that although it felt deeply the course of Parliament toward them, yet, so far from approving of any violent proceedings, it would on all occasions endeavor to support the dignity and authority of government. The riot, to which allusion is here made, had occurred on the 14th of November, and had been the result of new exactions, by way of imposts, of the Parliament upon the colonies; and while the reply of the House, as intimated, strongly censured the rioters, yet it also condemned the new duties in terms equally severe. This address gave little satisfaction to the representative of the Crown; and on the last day of the year it was fol-

lowed by a series of strong constitutional resolutions, among which was one declaring that it was the opinion of the Committee "that the House had an undoubted right to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring colonies on any matter, subject, or thing whatever, whereby they should conceive the rights and liberties of the House to be in any way affected."

These resolutions gave high displeasure; and Sir Henry Moore, having convened the Assembly in the City Hall on the afternoon of the 3d of January, 1769, dissolved it by a speech of evident irritation, yet of affected regret and sorrow at the occasion demanding the summary measure. Writs for a new election were immediately issued, returnable on the 14th of February. The people, however, sustained the action of their representatives, and all the former members, with the exception of six, were returned by overwhelming majorities. Such was the result of the first direct appeal of the Crown to the people on the subject of the great constitutional principles of liberty, which were now beginning to agitate the political waters to their deepest fountains.

Notwithstanding, however, the fact that most of the old members were returned, the election was hotly contested. "I hear," wrote Sir William Johnson, jocularly, to a friend in New York, "that you are likely to have a hot election, and probably there will be work for shillalahs." Nor was the writer far out in his conjecture. At no time for many years had the excitement been more intense, and every means and device was made use of to secure votes. In New York City, especially, the contest was between the church-party and the dissenters*—the former being led by the De Lanceys and the latter by the Livingstons. "It is surprising," writes Peter Van Schaak to his brother Henry, under date of January 27, 1769, "what trifles can be turned to the greatest advantage in elections and be made to captivate the passions of the vulgar. A straw, a fire-brand, have severally answered this purpose in a recent instance. It was said during the last election, that T. Smith had said that the Irish were poor beggars, and had come over here upon a bunch of straw. The whole body of Irishmen immediately joined and appeared with straws in their hats. Mr. Kissam, who summed up the evidence for Mr. Scott in the late charge against Mr. Jauncey, happened to say that the passions of the Germans were fire-brands. A whole congregation were, in consequence of that, resolved to vote with them in their hands, but being dissuaded, they however distinguished themselves by the name of the *Firebrands*. These gentlemen have also made them-

* And not between the lawyers and the merchants as such, as stated by Miss Booth. This writer also makes the prorogation of the Assembly, by Governor Moore, occur in 1768, a year previous. This is, however, probably a typographical error.

selves remarkable by a song in the German language, the chorus of which is,

"Maester Cruger, De Lancey,
Maester Walton and Jauncey."

"'Twas droll to see some of the first gentlemen in town joining in singing these songs, while they conducted the members to the Coffee-House." "I arrived here St. John's day," writes another person at the same time from New York to a friend, "when there was a grand procession of the whole Masonic fraternity, and a very excellent sermon preached by Dr. Auchmuthy, at Trinity Church, on the occasion. At the same time a collection was made for the city, which I think amounted to £200. Would you think it, but it is true, that the Presbyterians immediately labored to convert this charitable affair to the disadvantage of the Church of England and the part which they take in the election ensuing? Will. Smith and W. Livingston got an old rascally sermon, called 'MASONRY, THE SURE GUIDE TO HELL,' reprinted, and distributed it with great assiduity, * * and there is this day an extraordinary Lodge held on the occasion in order to consult means to resent the affront." The church-party, having the support of the mercantile and Masonic interests, was triumphant, and John Cruger, James De Lancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey, were elected by the city.

On the 4th of April, 1769, the new Assembly met. John Cruger was immediately chosen Speaker, and it was not long before another proof was afforded of the strength of the church-party in the House. "The De Lancey interest," wrote Hugh Wallace, a member of the Council, to Sir William Johnson, "prevails in the House greatly, and they have given the Livingston interest proof of it by dismissing P. Livingston the House as a non-resident." The Livingstons, however, were not entirely crushed, for the same writer adds: "It is said he will be returned again and again, and so become another Wilkes."

The opening speech of Governor Moore contained not the remotest reference to the difficulties which had caused the recent dissolution, but referred only to the manner in which the the colony's agent in London was appointed, a mode which his Excellency thought objectionable, he being of the opinion that the appointment of an agent should be made by an act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, specially passed for that purpose, as had formerly been the case. The change in the manner of appointing the colonial agent had been first introduced during the administration of Governor Clinton in 1747, in the appointment of Robert Charles, without the former's privity or consent. Clinton had complained bitterly at the time of the innovation, but without effect; it was, therefore, not likely that an Assembly, having had their own way in this matter for upward of twenty years, would now yield. Accordingly, in their reply, they utterly declined adopting the mode which his

Excellency had recommended. This, of course, gave great dissatisfaction to the Governor, who on the 20th of May prorogued the Assembly to the month of July; not, however, until that body had voted, with a very ill grace, £1,800 for the support of his Majesty's troops quartered in the colony.

The death of Sir Henry Moore on the 11th of September, 1769, threw a gloom over the entire city. His polished manners, courteous address, and genial disposition had endeared him to many in the colony. Although forced oftentimes as the representative of the Crown to come in collision with the popular sentiment, yet such occasions were evidently so distasteful to him that many who were his bitter political enemies regarded him with cordial good-will. By his death the reins of government fell, for the third time, into the hands of Doctor Colden, who, as Lieutenant-Governor, opened the fall session of the Assembly on the 22d of November.

Appearances seemed to indicate a stormy session. Massachusetts had just passed a series of spirited resolutions against the military and naval force stationed at her capital. The Assembly of Virginia, late in the spring, had been dissolved by the new Governor, Lord Botetourt, for its presumption in sending Massachusetts words of encouragement and support. The refusal, moreover, of the House of Commons, in March, to receive the representative of the New York Assembly, had excited the apprehensions of those of the colonists who had hitherto been warmly attached to the Crown. "I must confess," wrote Sir William Johnson, in September, "that the aspect of affairs at home is very unpleasing, and ought to give concern to every well-wisher of his country, because whatever reason or justice there may be in the late steps, there is a probability of their being carried further than a good man can wish for."

Contrary, however, to general expectation, during the fall and winter session, there were no collisions between the Executive and the Legislature, although the spirited resolutions of Virginia, of the preceding May, were unanimously concurred in. On the first day of the session a bill was introduced for emitting one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in bills of credit, to be put out on loan, as a means of revenue. The bill was at first hailed with delight by the leaders of the popular party, who thought they discerned in it a desire, on the part of the Executive, to gratify the wish of the people. When, however, it was followed on the 15th of December, by a motion to grant two thousand pounds for the support of his Majesty's troops in the colony, which sum was to be taken out of the interest arising from the loan bill when it should become a law, a complete revulsion of feeling took place; and they now saw only an attempt, on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor, to compel the Assembly into an unconditional submission to the Mutiny Act. Accordingly, the first sight that greeted the citizens, on the morning of the 17th, was a

flaming placard posted up in the most conspicuous portions of the city, addressed, "To the Betrayed Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New York," and signed "A Son of Liberty." This placard declared that the granting of money to the troops was implicitly acknowledging the authority that had enacted the revenue acts, which had been passed for the express purpose of taking money out of the pockets of the colonists without their consent; that what made the granting of money the more grevous was, that it went to the support of troops kept, not to protect, but to enslave them; that this was the view taken of the Mutiny Act by the Assemblies of Massachusetts and South Carolina—therefore, let not the Assembly of New York tell their disgrace in Boston, nor publish it in the streets of Charleston! The Assembly, moreover, had not been attentive to the liberties of this continent, nor to the prosperity of the good people of this colony. This sacrifice of the public interest it attributed to a corrupt source which it scrupied not to affirm, in plain words, was an infamous coalition recently entered into between the Executive and the De Lancey family for this very object. In conclusion, the placard advised all the people to assemble the following day in "the fields" (the Park), there to express their sentiments upon a point so vital to colonial liberty.

The large concourse of people gathered in "the fields" at the time appointed, clearly showed how in unison with the public feeling were the sentiments uttered in the placard of the previous day. The object of the gathering was set forth by John Lamb, one of the most prominent of the Sons of Liberty, and the question asked, whether the citizens would uphold the recent action of the Assembly. The emphatic "No" that at once arose from the vast throng was a sufficient answer to this question; and a committee of seven was immediately appointed to carry this public expression of feeling to the Legislature. But however much that body may have regretted their partial committal to the loan bill, they did not choose to be dictated to by a meeting which they considered little better than a mob. Accordingly, the consideration of the placard having been made the first order of the following day, James De Lancey moved that "the sense of the House should be taken whether the said paper was not an infamous and scandalous libel." The question being put, all the members voted in the affirmative, except Colonel Schuyler, who, when his name was called, with admirable moral courage, fearlessly answered in the negative. A series of resolutions was then passed condemning the paper as false, seditious, and infamous, and requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to offer a reward of one hundred pounds for its author or authors. Immediately after the passage of these resolutions, Mr. De Lancey laid before the House another hand-bill, in which the late proceedings of that body were strongly condemned, signed "Legion." Resolves were at once passed, similar in tone to those just noticed, and an additional reward of fifty pounds offered for the writer of this also.

Nothing worthy of special mention occurred during the remainder of this session. John Lamb, it is true, three days after the passage of the resolutions, was arraigned before the House on suspicion of being the author of the libelous hand-bill; but nothing being proved against him he was immediately discharged. The General Assembly having now been convened more than two months, and its members being now anxious to return to their homes, Lieutenant-Governor Colden signed several acts among them one for appointing commissioners from the neighboring colonies to agree upon a plan for regulating the Indian trade, and on the 27th of January, 1770, prorogued it to the second Tuesday in March, and from time to time afterward to the 11th of December.

Meanwhile, the hatred between the soldiers and the Sons of Liberty daily gained strength. The former had long writhed under the undisguised disgust with which they were treated by the latter, and only waited for an opportunity to repay this scorn with interest. Hitherto, they had been restrained through motives of policy; and now that the supplies were granted, they threw off all restraint, and resolved to insult their enemies in the most tender spot. Accordingly, on the 13th of January, a portion of the Sixteenth Regiment attempted to destroy the liberty-pole, by sawing of its spars and blowing it up with gunpowder. A knot of citizens having gathered round while they were thus engaged, they desisted for the present from the attempt, and charging upon the group with fixed bayonets, drove them into a tavern, kept by Montagnie, and a favorite resort of the Sons of Liberty, broke the windows, and demolished a portion of the furniture. Three days afterward, however, they succeeded in their design, and having, on the night of the 16th, cut the obnoxious symbol in pieces, piled its fragments in front of Montagnie's door. Incensed at this daring insult, three thousand citizens assembled early the following morning at the scene of the outrage, and adopted, among others, a resolution that all soldiers found in the streets after roll-call, "should be treated as enemies to the peace of the city;" mutually pledging themselves to see that this resolve was vigorously enforced. Early the next morning insulting placards were found posted up in various parts of the city, ridiculing the resolutions of the previous day, and daring the citizens to carry them into execution. In the course of the day three soldiers were discovered by Sears and others in the act of posting up more of these hand-bills; and a skirmish ensuing, the citizens having obtained the upper hand, were conducting the offenders to the office of the Mayor, when they were met by a band of twenty additional troops. A general fight with cutlasses and clubs now followed, the military slowly retreating to Golden Hill.* At this point they were met by a party of officers, who immediately ordered their men to the barracks,

* John street, between Cliff street and Burling Slip.

and the riot was quelled. In this brush, several citizens were wounded and one killed, although the soldiers were generally worsted. The following day witnessed a number of frays, none of which, however, were attended with loss of life; and on the 20th, the Mayor having issued a proclamation forbidding the soldiers to come out of the barracks unless accompanied by a non-commissioned officer, the excitement was quieted and order once more restored.* On the 5th of February another pole was erected, inscribed "Liberty and Property," on ground purchased for the purpose, where it remained until cut down in 1776, by the British soldiery, at that time occupying the city.

Meanwhile the Sons of Liberty were undaunted. In February, one hundred of them purchased of Colonel Morris a house for six hundred pounds—each of them contributing six pounds—in which to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act; and having, on the 19th of March, drank forty-five popular toasts, they proceeded to the jail where Captain McDougall was confined for being the author of the libelous hand-bill of the previous December, saluted him with forty-five cheers, and quietly dispersed.

In Boston the feeling between the citizens and soldiery was even more embittered. The news of the recent occurrences in New York was not calculated to sooth this mutual animosity; and when, on the 2d of March, an affray took plack at Gray's rope-walk, between a citizen and a soldier, in which the latter was worsted, it required but a small degree of forecast to anticipate an approaching explosion. Three days afterward, on the evening of the 5th, a sentinel, who had wantonly abused a lad, was surrounded in King street by a mob of boys, and pelted with snow-balls, made of the light snow that had just fallen. "They are killing the sentinel!" shouted a bystander to the main guard. Instantly a file of six soldiers, headed by a corporal and followed by Preston, the officer of the day, rushed to the rescue, at a double-quick step, with fixed bayonets. A crowd gathered round, and the musket of a soldier being hit by a stick thrown from the throng, Preston gave the order to fire. Montgomery, the man whose musket had been hit, immediately fired, and Attucks, a mulatto, who had been quietly looking on, fell dead on the spot. Six others, thereupon, taking deliberate aim, fired in succession at the crowd, who were already begin-

* "We are all in confusion in this city; the soldiers have cut and blowed up the Liberty Pole, and have caused much trouble between the inhabitants. On Friday last, between Burling Slip and Fly Market, was an engagement between the inhabitants and the soldiers, when much blood was spilt; one sailor got run through the body, who since died; one man got his skull cut in the most cruel manner. On Saturday the Hall-bell rang for an alarm, when was another battle between the inhabitants and soldiers; but the soldiers met with rubbers, the chiefest part being sailors with clubs to revenge the death of their brother, which they did with courage, and made them all run to their barracks. What will be the end of this, God knows."—*Letter from "New York, Jan. 22d,* 1770," in *St. James Chronicle,* or the *British Evening Post,* March 15th, 1770.

ning to disperse. Three of the citizens, including the mulatto, were instantly killed, and of eight others who were wounded, two died shortly afterward from their injuries.

It has usually been asserted by historians, that the first blood in the war of the American Revolution was shed at Lexington; but such is not the fact. The Battle of Golden Hill, on the 18th of January, 1770, was the beginning of that contest, so fearful in its commencement, so doubtful in its progress, and so splendid in its results. The storm had now been gathering for several years, and the public mind had become exceedingly feverish, not only in respect to the conduct of the parent government, but in regard to the language and bearing of the officers of the Crown stationed in the colonies. The destruction of the Liberty Pole increased the mutual exasperation; and the fight that followed was but the natural consequence. To the City of New York, therefore, must ever be given the honor of *striking the first blow*. The town was thrown into commotion, the bells rang, and the news, with the exaggerations and embellishments incident to all occasions of alarm, spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning. Everywhere, throughout the wide extent of the old thirteen colonies, it created a strong sensation, and was received with a degree of indignant emotion, which very clearly foretold that blood had only commenced flowing. The massacre in King street, two months later, added intensity to the flame; and although five years intervened before the demonstration at Lexington, there were too many nervous pens and eloquent tongues in exercise to allow these feelings to subside, or the noble spirit of liberty that had been awakened to be quenched. "Such stirring orations as those of Joseph Warren were not uttered in vain; and often were the people reminded by him, or by his compatriots of kindred spirit—'The voice of your brethren's blood cries to you from the ground!' The admonition had its effect, and the resolutions of vengeance sank deeper and deeper, until the fullness of time should come!"

On the 18th of October, 1770, John, Earl of Dunmore, arrived in New York to occupy the gubernatorial chair, left vacant by the lamented Sir Henry Moore. The new Governor is described, in a letter to Sir William Johnson, as "a very active man, fond of walking and riding, and a sportsman." This description affords a clue to the character of the man—easy in his disposition, and one who preferred the delights of the chase to controversies with his Legislature. There was little likelihood, however, of his being troubled with a body that had of late grown very subservient. The news, moreover, which he brought with him of his Majesty's consent to the bill authorizing the emission of a colonial currency, increased the spirit of loyalty; and when, in his opening speech on the 11th of December, he expressed his pleasure that the example of the loyal subjects of the province had been the means of restoring friendly feelings and confidence between the parent country and the colonists, the address of the

Assembly, in reply, was a simple echo. During the entire session, therefore, the wheels of government rolled smoothly; and at its close, on the 16th of February, 1771, the loan bill was passed, as was also the one for appropriating two thousand pounds for the support of the troops. The Crown had seemingly triumphed; but the end was not yet.

On the 8th of July, 1771, Sir William Tryon, Bart., having rendered himself odious to the people of North Carolina by his petty tyranny, arrived in New York, bearing his Majesty's commission as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, in the place of Lord Dunmore, who was transferred to the Government of Virginia.

The General Assembly, which had been prorogued to the 7th day of August, 1771, was now further prorogued from time to time to the 7th of January, 1772, when it again met, and on the 8th, the session was opened for business by a speech from the new Governor, of a mild and conciliatory character. His arrival had been greeted by affectionate addresses of congratulation, to which he referred with apparent warmth. His recent cruel conduct in North Carolina was then justified as a meritorious effort to preserve the constitution and the laws; and in seeming mockery, his late wonderful achievement in that province—of dispersing with over one thousand armed troops an unarmed and inoffensive crowd—was attributed to the special favor of a kind Providence. The necessity of passing a good militia bill was then pointed out; and the thorough repairing of the fortifications of the city, which had become greatly injured by the weather, was also recommended as worthy of immediate attention. "Influenced only," he added, with consummate flattery, "by principles that flow from an honest heart, I feel an ardent desire to co-operate with you in every measure that will best promote the honor and dignity of his Majesty's government, and advance the real felicity of a people eminently distinguished by their loyalty to the best of sovereigns, and affectionate disposition to their mother country." The address sent in to the Governor by the House, on the 17th, was conceived in the same spirit that dictated the opening speech. It accorded high praise to the brief administration of the Earl of Dunmore, for its equity, impartiality, and disinterestedness; and expressed strong confidence in the wisdom which was to mark that of his Lordship's immediate successor, as shown more particularly in his beneficent administration of his former government!

Indeed, it seemed as if in this address the last lingering embers of resistance to ministerial tyranny in the Colony of New York had expired. A few staunch patriots, such as Philip Schuyler, it is true, still remained in the Assembly, but their voices were powerless to turn back the tide which now rolled in from the ocean of ministerial patronage. William Tryon, a man fully as subservient as Hutchinson, without his ability, backed by the Upper House, and rendered, moreover, independent of the colony by a recent order of the Crown that his salary should hereafter

be paid from the revenue chest, was well fitted for the purpose for which he had been transferred to the chair lately occupied by the mild but passive and inefficient Dunmore. Indeed, if anything was wanting to show the subserviency of the present Assembly, it was supplied by the utter indifference with which this attempt to render the Executive independent of the people was received. In former Assemblies, such an announcement would have been met with an outburst of indignation before which no Governor could have stood; but now a message from Tryon in February, refusing to receive a salary from the people, produced not a word of comment, and the removal of this strong bulwark of their liberties was quietly acquiesced in. Far different, however, was the action of the Assemblies of Massachusetts and the other colonies, to whom the ministerial instruction in relation to salaries also extended. In the former body, especially, the recent Act of Parliament was boldly denounced; other colonial Legislatures did the same. New York was silent. True men looked on in amazement, and in anxious expectation strained their eyes for the first rays of the day-star of hope.

But while the representatives of the people were thus unmindful of their liberties, they were more attentive to the local interests of the colony. At the close of the present session many praiseworthy acts were passed; and among them one for founding the present New York Hospital, and another for dividing Albany County into three counties, Albany, Tryon, and Charlotte.

Meanwhile, blind to their own interests, the Ministry thought only of reducing their "rebellious subjects" into submission. Mortified and exasperated at the signal failure to foist the Stamp Act upon the colonists, they were ready to embrace any scheme which promised to soothe their wounded pride. An opportunity for doing this soon came. The East India Company were now suffering severely from the effect of the non-importation agreements. Unable to make their annual payments to the Government of £1,400,000, they found themselves in the spring of 1773, with 17,000,000 chests of tea on their hands, on the very verge of bankruptcy. In this state of affairs, the Company in April petitioned Parliament for permission to export their teas to America, and other countries, free of duty. This request, however, the Ministry, jealous of relinquishing in the least their right to tax the colonies, would not grant, but, by a special Act of Parliament passed on the 10th of June, allowed the Company to ship their tea to America free of any export duty—thus putting it in the power of the Company to sell their tea at a lower price in America than in England. No Act that the home government had hitherto passed, showed more plainly its utter inability to comprehend the great principle for which the colonists were contending, than this. It was clear that the Ministry supposed that the motive of the colonists in resisting taxation was merely of a sordid nature. This idea was in itself

sufficiently humiliating; and now, when by making concessions to the East India Company, a direct attempt was made to buy them off by an appeal to their pockets, the indignation of the colonists was raised to the highest pitch.

The plan of union as proposed by Virginia, and which had now been adopted by all the New England colonies, rendered concert of action much easier than heretofore. Accordingly, as soon as it was known that the tea ships were on their way to America, measures were immediately taken to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The non-importation agreements, which had of late grown lax, became again stringent; and the correspondence between the vigilant committees of the several colonies was renewed with greater activity than ever. On the 18th of October, 1773, the inhabitants of Philadelphia assembled in the State House; and having in several spirited resolutions denied the right of Parliament to tax America, and denounced the duty on the tea, compelled the agents of the East India Company, by the mere force of public opinion, to resign. In Boston the patriots were no less active. Town meetings were constantly held, and committees appointed to confer with committees from the neighboring towns, upon the best method of "preventing the landing and sale of the teas exported from the East India Company." Unlike, however, the excitement produced by the Stamp Act, everything was now done "decently and in order." The burning of the Gaspé in the waters of the Naragansett, on the night of the 17th of June, 1772, was suggestive. On the night of the 16th of December, 1773, three tea ships, which lay moored at Griffin's Wharf, were boarded by a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, and their cargoes, consisting of three hundred and forty chests of tea, thrown into the waters of the bay.

Nor was New York behind her sister colonies in resisting this new feature of ministerial oppression. Two days after the meeting in Philadelphia, the Sons of Liberty held a public meeting, in which they denounced in unequivocal terms the importation of the hateful article; and declared with such effect that tea-commissioners were fully as obnoxious as stamp-distributers, that the commissioners appointed for New York forthwith resigned. Public sentiment, moreover, was not confined merely to resolves. A remark of Governor Tryon that "the tea should be delivered to the consignees, even if it was sprinkled with blood," was not calculated to pour oil upon the troubled waters; and so soon as it was known that consignments of tea would shortly reach the city, another mass-meeting of the citizens was held at their old rendezvous—"the fields"—to devise measures for preventing the landing of the tea from a vessel which was hourly expected. Hardly had the people assembled, when Whitehead Hicks, the Mayor, hastened to the meeting, charged with a message from the Governor, to the effect that when the vessel

arrived, the tea should be publicly taken from the ship into the fort, and there kept until the advice of the Council could be taken, or the King's order could be known. The moment was critical, but John Lamb—by whose influence undoubtedly the meeting had been called—at once saw through the artifice. He immediately arose and addressed the Assembly. After giving a summary of the grievances which had brought them together, he read the Act of Parliament which prescribed the payment of the duty if the article was landed, and then asked, "Shall the tea be landed?" A unanimous "NO!" repeated three times, clearly showed the mind of his audience.

But this spirit of resistance to Parliamentary usurpation was not shared in by the Assembly, whose members were more subservient than ever. Notwithstanding the conduct of the Governor, they did not hesitate in the spring session to vote five thousand pounds toward rebuilding the government house, which had been recently destroyed by fire; and in response to his opening speech, in which they were informed that he had been called home to confer with the Ministry in relation to the New Hampshire grants, they expressed the hope that his return to a grateful people would be speedy. Indeed, as Mr. Dunlop remarks, if the number of compliments paid him upon his departure was any test, it would seem as if he was very much beloved. Several of the loyalists residing in the city gave him a public dinner; General Haldimand, who had succeeded Gage as Commander-in-Chief, honored him with a ball; corporations and societies vied in presenting addresses; King's College created him a doctor in civil law; and the General Assembly tendered him an address, in which, after expressing their appreciation of the uprightness and integrity of his conduct, they added, in yet more fulsome eulogy, that they thought it their duty, as the representatives of a free and happy people, to pay this tribute of applause and acknowledgment to a Governor who had so eminently distinguished himself by his constant attention to their care and prosperity. The Governor, in return, thanked them for their "truly loyal and affectionate address;" and having, on the 19th of March, summoned the General Assembly to his house, gave his assent to the acts that had been passed, and closed the session by prorogation.

Thus ended the third session of the Legislature of the colony and the administration of Governor Tryon, without having in a single instance come into collision with his Excellency, or even with the Legislative Council, save in the matter of a disagreement between the two bodies in respect to an amendment to the militia bill, proposed by the Council, but to which the House disagreed. An attempt was made in the Council, on motion of Mr. Smith, to obtain a conference, but the proposition was voted down. The amendment referred to, according to the reasons of dissent recorded by Mr. Smith, was an invasion of the royal prerogative; and had the bill been passed in the shape insisted upon by the

House, Mr. Smith maintained that it would have received the Governor's negative. According to the reasons of dissent, the rejection of the amendment of the Council evinced a determination by the House to control the action of the Governor in commanding the services of the militia, while there were indications that their services would be required to quell insurrection in the New Hampshire grants. Mr. Smith set forth that a similar amendment sent to the House in 1772 had been concurred in by that body, and that no reason was perceptible justifying a change of sentiments upon the question; and he thought a friendly conference might induce the House to yield. Other reasons for his assent were given; and he referred to open surmises abroad, that the Legislature was losing its confidence in the Governor, and the loss of the bill with the provision in question might be viewed as an evidence that the Legislature had not been "sincere in the testimonials they had given and justly awarded to his Excellency for an administration wise and impartial, fair and generous, and steadily conducted upon principles unbiased by party feuds, and acknowledged to be equally friendly to the rights of the Crown and the weal of the colony." But the conference was not asked, and in fact there was no collision.

This profound tranquility which had succeeded the election of the present General Assembly in 1770, was the more remarkable from the raging of the political elements all around New York, and from the circumstances under which the preceding Assembly had been dissolved, and the feelings attending the new election. The preceding Assembly had been dissolved for its strong declaration of those constitutional principles which had been planted in the bosoms of the colonists from their settlement, and which were striking deeper root every hour and yet, neither under Sir Henry Moore, who had dissolved the preceding, and summoned the present Legislature, nor under Lord Dunmore, nor under Governor Tryon, had a breeze moved upon the political waters, so far as the Legislature was concerned, save only by its concurrence in the Virginia resolutions of May, 1769; nor did that act of concurrence occasion any visible agitation. But it was the deep, solemn calm, which often precedes the lightning and the whirlwind!

But the storm was to break sooner than was anticipated. The utterances of James Otis and Patrick Henry had created a tide of public feeling which ordinary barriers were powerless to resist. Events followed each other in startling rapidity. On the night of the 22d of April, 1774, the Sons of Liberty, following the example of their Boston neighbors, and like them also disguised as Mohawks, threw over a cargo of tea, brought by the *Nancy*, into the waters of New York Bay. New York, imitating the example of her sister colonies, formed a Provincial Congress in opposition to the regular Assembly, whose members still remained lukewarm, and appointed five delegates to the Continental

Congress which had already convened in Philadelphia. Tryon, in a maze at the turn affairs had taken, sailed, as we have seen, for England on the 7th of April, 1774, to represent to the Ministry the alarming state of things in the colonies. The Province of New York was ordered by the Continental Congress to contribute her quota of three thousand men to the general defense. The battle of Lexington had been followed by the battle of Bunker Hill; the brave Montgomery was preparing to undertake his ill-fated expedition against Quebec; and Putnam, and Heath, and Pomeroy, and a score of brave spirits laid close siege to Boston.

Such was the condition of affairs when Washington, on the 21st of June, 1775, set out from Philadelphia for Boston, with the purpose of taking New York in his way. All disguise had now been thrown off; and it was his purpose to place that important post under the command of one of his generals upon whom he could rely. But the approach of Washington toward the city threw the Provincial Congress into a quandary. It had usurped the powers of Governor Tryon in his absence, while professing at the same time a semi-loyalty to the parent government. To add also to its perplexity, Tryon, who had just arrived from England, was in the lower bay and might arrive at the wharf at any moment. A middle course was therefore adopted. The militia was ordered out and the commanding officer directed "to pay military honors to whichever of the distinguished functionaries should first arrive." As it chanced, Washington arrived first on the 25th, and was escorted into the city by a committee of the Provincial Congress, by whom he had been met at Newark. As soon as the customary military honors had been paid, Peter Van Burgh Livingston, as President of the New York Congress, advanced and delivered a congratulatory address. "Confiding in you, sir," said the speaker, "and in the worthy generals under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances that whenever this important contest shall be decided by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands and resume the character of our worthiest citizen."

Hardly had these honors been paid to Washington when, at eight o'clock of the same evening, Tryon landed, and was in turn greeted by the same militia, and in addition, by the Mayor and Common Council, who, by their transports of loyalty, seemed anxious to neutralize, as far as possible, the reception given a few hours previous to Washington. Meanwhile, the latter, having placed the city under the command of General Schuyler, departed for Boston, leaving the citizens in great doubt as to the future steps which would be taken by Tryon.

Their suspense, however, was to be short. The Provincial Congress regarding the guns in the battery as a standing menace to the patriot

party, and wishing them for the defense of the Highlands, ordered their removal. The indomitable Lamb, at the head of his Liberty Boys, among whom was Alexander Hamilton, at once volunteered for this service, and in the face of the guns of the *Asia*, which opened her batteries upon the party, succeeded in carrying away to a place of safety the whole of the pieces of cannon, twenty-one in number. This event at once brought things to a crisis; and the Governor, alarmed for his personal safety among an incensed populace, took refuge on board of the *Asia*.

Meanwhile, the Assembly of New York, not wishing to join in the radical action of the Provincial Congress, and yet feeling keenly the course of the parent government, had prepared and sent to the Crown a memorial for a redress of their grievances—a fact which the Ministry soon learned, and not without mortification. "We claim," the address said in conclusion, "but a restoration of the rights which we enjoyed by general consent before the close of the last war; we desire no more than a continuation of the ancient government to which we are entitled by the principles of the British Constitution, and by which alone can be secured to us the rights of Englishmen." The address was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Burke, but was never called up. Incensed at this insult to themselves, those faint hearts in the Assembly who had heretofore wavered, now boldly joined the patriots; and when, on the 10th of July, 1776, the news was received in the city of the Declaration of Independence, the enthusiasm was well nigh universal—almost all hastening to aid General Putnam (who had succeeded Lee in the command) in fortifying the city. The principal fortifications were as follows: A grand battery of twenty-three guns was erected directly south of the Bowling Green; McDougall's Battery of four guns stood on a little eminence to the west of Trinity Church. On the East River side were Coenties' Battery, Waterbury's Battery, Badlam's Battery of eight guns near the Jewish burial-ground on Chatham street, and the Independent Battery on a slight elevation on the corner of the present Grand and Centre streets. "Breastworks were also erected at Peck, Beekman, Burling and Old Slips; at the Coffee-House, the Exchange, and in Broad street." Ditches were cut across the island from the East to the North River, and at the same time strong fortifications were thrown up on Governor's Island, Paulus Hook (Jersey City), Brooklyn Heights, and Long Island.

These fortifications were erected at the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief, who, rightly anticipating, on the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, that his next point of attack would be New York, detached General Greene, with a portion of the army, to put Long Island and the harbor of New York in a posture of defense. Washington followed soon afterward himself, and established his headquarters in the city. Having been joined by his brother, Lord Howe, as commander of the fleet at Halifax, General, afterward Sir William Howe, arrived with his rein-

forcements off Sandy Hook, the latter on the 25th of June, 1776, and the former on the 12th of the following month. General Clinton arriving at about the same time from the unsuccessful attempt against Charleston with Admiral Hotham, the combined forces of the enemy now amounted to nearly twenty-four thousand men, including the Hessians.

On the 22d of August, the British army was landed upon Long Island at Gravesend. The American army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, under Sullivan, was encamped in the neighborhood of Brooklyn. The battle of Long Island, which was severely, though ineffectually, contested by the American forces under Sullivan and Lord Stirling, was fought on the 27th of August. In this action, the loss of the enemy was reported at from three hundred to four hundred and fifty. The loss of the Americans was far greater. General Washington admitted it to be one thousand, but he is believed only to have referred to the loss of the regular troops. General Howe claimed one thousand and ninety-seven prisoners, among whom were Generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Woodhull. On the 30th, the Americans effected a masterly retreat across the East River to New York. The enemy made immediate dispositions for attacking the city; and so prompt and skillful were his movements, that, in a council of general officers, an immediate evacuation was deemed the only means of saving the army. The British fleet was divided into two squadrons, one of which entered the East and the other the North River. Under cover of the former, Sir Henry Clinton crossed from Long Island and landed at Kipp's Bay with such celerity that the Americans fled in disorder. Indeed, the evacuation resembled rather a flight than a retreat—all the heavy artillery, military stores, baggage, and provisions, falling into the hands of the enemy. A large portion of the American forces, at that time, consisted of militia, the conduct of which was scandalous beyond endurance. They deserted, not only in small numbers, but in companies and squadrons, whenever they could; and their conduct, in the face of the enemy, or rather when running from the faces of the enemy, was most cowardly. So disorderly was their demeanor, and so like poltroons did they behave when flying from Sir Henry Clinton, that even Washington himself lost his patience, and was excited to a degree of hot exasperation. In writing from Harlaem Heights to a friend, General Greene said that "two brigades of militia ran away from about fifty men, leaving the Commander-in-Chief on the ground, within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed with the conduct of his troops that he sought death rather than life. His attempts to stop them were fruitless. He drew his sword and threatened to run them through, and cocked and snapped his pistols.* But all his exertions were to no purpose."

* Mr. Bancroft, it is true, discredits this statement; but, it seems to me, without sufficient reason.

In a letter upon the subject of this infamous conduct of the militia, to the President of Congress, the Commander-in-Chief declared that, "were he called to give his opinion upon oath, he should say that militia did more injury to the service than good."

General Greene strongly urged the destruction of the city by fire—a measure afterward so effectively adopted by Count Rostopchin, Governor of the ancient capital of Muscovy, to arrest the career of Napoleon—that the enemy might be deprived of the advantage of establishing their winter-quarters therein. His reasons for this measure were sound, and ought, doubtless, to have been adopted. Washington, also, was believed to be of the same opinion, especially as two-thirds of the property which it was proposed to destroy, belonged to undisguised loyalists. But Congress would not allow the sacrifice; and on the 15th of September, 1776, the City of New York was in full possession of the British—General Washington having retired with the army to King's Bridge.

It would seem, however, as if the idea of firing the city—though given up by Washington and Greene—was still cherished by some of the residents of the city. Scarcely had the British fairly taken posession, when on the night of the 20th of September—only six days after they had marched in—a terrific fire broke out, which was not subdued until one thousand houses, or about one-fourth of the city, was reduced to ashes.* The fire was first discovered in a low dram-shop, tenanted by abandoned men and women; but in a few minutes afterward flames were seen to break forth from several other buildings, lying in different directions, at the same moment. For some time previous the weather had been dry, and at the moment a brisk southerly wind prevailing, and the buildings being of wood and covered with shingles, the flames soon caught the neighboring houses and spread with inconceivable rapidity. The fire swept up Broad and Beaver streets to Broadway and thence onward, consuming all that portion of the town lying on the North River, until the flames were stopped by the grounds of King's (Columbia) College at Mortkile street, now Barclay. St. Paul's Church, at one time, was in great danger. Fortunately, however, the roof was flat, with a balustrade on the eaves. Taking advantage of this circumstance, a number of citizens went into the balustrade and extinguished the flakes of fire as they fell on the roof. Trinity Church, with the Lutheran Chapel, on the opposite corner of Rector street, was also destroyed. The Rev. Dr. Inglis was then rector of Trinity, and with this sacred edifice, his parsonage and the Charity School—two large buildings—were consumed, entailing a loss of church-property to the value of twenty-five thousand pounds. The organ of Trinity, alone, cost eight hundred and fifty pounds.

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* Hugh Gaine, in his *Universal Register* for 1787, states that before this fire, the city contained about four thousand two hundred houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants.

At the present day it is difficult to say whether the fire was or was not the result of incendiarism on the part of disaffected Americans. Even reliable contemporaneous writers differ widely in their opinion on the subject, some affirming positively that the city was set on fire, and others again quite as positively affirming the contrary. For ourselves, we are inclined to believe that the fire was the result of a deliberate design; nor, if the newspapers and private correspondence of the day can be believed, is there much room left for doubt. According to these authorities, one man was seized in the act of setting fire to the College, who acknowledged that he had been employed for the purpose. A New England captain, who was seized at the same time, with matches in his pocket, also acknowledged the same. One White, a carpenter, was observed to cut the leather-buckets which conveyed the water. "The next day, Saturday," says Steadman, in his history of the American War, "a great many cart-loads of bundles of pine-sticks dipped in brimstone were found concealed in cellars of houses to which the incendiaries had not had time to set fire." "The rebels," says the Rev. Charles Inglis, in writing on the same subject, a few days after, to the 'Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,' "carried off all the bells in the city, partly to convert them into cannon and partly to prevent notice being given speedily of the destruction they meditated against the city by fire, when it began. * * Several rebels secreted themselves in the houses to execute the diabolical purpose of destroying the city." Notwithstanding, however, this seeming mass of testimony, it was found impossible to obtain legal proof sufficient to fasten the act upon any particular individual—for all who had been caught a the time with matches, &c., had been killed on the spot by the enraged soldiery—and the result was, that several of the citizens, who had been arrested and imprisoned on the charge of being the incendiaries, were acquitted.

The history of New York City during its occupation by the British is not one that Americans can recall with pleasure. True it is that this period has invested a few of the old buildings, yet standing, with interest; but these very associations are of a saddening, melancholy nature, and only calculated to make Americans, even at the present day, blush at the remembrance of the fact that British officers—having their blood, and the same ancestry, and speaking the same tongue—could ever have been guilty of such horrid atrocities upon the persons of inoffensive captives. Of the numerous prison-pens in the city during the Revolution, only two yet stand —like charred and battered monuments of cruelty and tyranny—the North Dutch Church, on William street, and the Middle Dutch Church—the present Post-Office. In the former edifice, eight hundred prisoners were ncarcerated, without fuel or bedding, during two of the coldest winters

New York has ever known.* Their provisions were scanty, and of the poorest quality; and, as a natural and probably anticipated consequence, many died from cold and starvation. "We never," says Oliver Woodruff, one of the prisoners, "drew as much provisions for three days' allowance as a man would eat at a common meal. I was there three months during that inclement season, and never saw any fire, except what was in the lamps of the city. There was not a pane of glass in the windows, and nothing to keep out the cold, except the iron grates." "The allowance," says Adolph Meyer, another prisoner, "was one loaf of bread, one quart of peas, half a pint of rice, and one and a half pounds of pork for six days. Many prisoners died from want; and others were reduced to such wretchedness as to attract the attention of common prostitutes, from whom they received considerable assistance. No care was taken of the sick, and if any died they were thrown at the door of the prison, and lay there till the next day, when they were put on a cart and drawn out to the entrenchments, beyond the Jews' burial-ground, where they were interred by their fellow-prisoners, conducted thither for that purpose. The dead were thrown into a hole promiscuously, without the usual rites of sepulcher." But the state of things was even worse in the Middle Dutch Church—the present Post-Office—into which three thousand prisoners were crowded. "Here," says John Pintard, an eye-witness of these scenes, "the prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington—sick, wounded, and well—were all indiscriminately huddled together by hundreds and thousands, large numbers of whom died by disease; and many were undoubtedly poisoned by their inhuman attendants for the sake of their watches and silver buckles." "The beds of the prisoners," says Dunlop, writing at the time, "were straw, intermixed with vermin. For many weeks, the dead-cart visited the prison every morning, into which from eight to twelve corpses were flung and piled up, then dumped into ditches in the outskirts of the city." The bones of the unfortunate victims of British cruelty, thus disposed of, were collected after the Revolution, and buried with proper funeral rites.†

But while the American prisoners were thus languishing in chains, the British officers and their wives were passing their time in a round of gayety and frivolity. The best view, perhaps, of the interior and social life of New York at this time—now become in reality a British city—is

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* During one of these winters—that of 1779–80—the river between Cortlandt street and Jersey was frozen over for forty days. Hundreds of people crossed daily on the ice, which was so thick that artillery was also conveyed across.

† It is very true that, at times, the British themselves were often in want of food, and suffered from cold—and also that provisions were dear—still, that need not have prevented them from giving the prisoners bed-clothes, and ministering to their necessities, and alleviating their condition as far as possible.

given in the letters of Mrs. General Riedesel.* This lady was the wife of the German general who commanded the Brunswick troops at the battle of Saratoga, where he was captured with Burgoyne. After her husband was exchanged she spent nearly two years in New York City—1779-80—and her letters to her mother at this time are of great interest. From these letters, recently published in book-form, we make the following extracts:

"Finally, late one evening, at the end of November, 1779, we reached New York, where my husband, who had gone ahead of us, had already arrived before me. A soldier who, at the gate-way, had been ordered to show us the way, conducted us to a very great and beautiful house, where we found everything prepared for our reception, and, better than all, a good supper. I was too much occupied in putting the children to bed, and too tired to inquire where I was, and supposed I was in a public-house. My husband, who had taken tea with General Cornwallis, came home late. The next morning a servant came in to ask me what I desired for dinner, and how many visitors I would probably have daily at table. I replied that as my husband did not dine at home, I should not need more than three dishes for six persons, namely: myself, my children, my women-servants, and the pastor, Mylius, the chaplain of my husband's regiment, whom we retained in our family, and who gave my children instruction in everything useful. He was a man of piety and of excellent character and good humor, and the children and we all loved him very much. I was then told that the order had been given to serve up on my table every day six large and four small dishes. Being still under the impression that I was in a tavern, I decidedly forbade this profusion, as I dreaded the bill. But I soon discovered that I was staying at the house of the Governor, General Tryon, who had forbidden them to tell me where I had been taken, through fear that I would not accept of his house.† This noble-minded man,

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* *Letters and Journals relating to the War of the American Revolution, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga, by Mrs. General Riedesel. Translated from the original German, by William L. Stone.* ALBANY: J. MUNSELL. 1867.

† The site of the present [1868] Bank of New York.

"On the night of December 29th, 1773, the government house accidentally caught fire. So rapid was the progress of the flames that in a few moments after the alarm was given, a thick cloud of smoke and flame pervaded the whole building, and in less than two hours it was entirely consumed. From this dreadful conflagration, nothing in the building, except a few articles of furniture taken from one of the parlors, was saved. The manner in which the fire originated was not discovered. The deep snow which covered the roofs of the other buildings in the city, contributed toward their protection, and the fire department of the city showed great activity in preventing the progress of the flames. Governor Tryon was a resident of the government house in the fort at the time of its destruction, and was a heavy loser by the event. He afterward resided in a house on the corner of Wall

moreover, in order to avoid my thanks, crossed over to Long Island, where he had a provisional command. All my wishes were anticipated, and I was only in continual fear lest I should abuse so much kindness. I also received a call from General Patterson, the commandant of the city, who told me that they were still busy with the arrangement of the house, which we were to have as our own residence. Lord Cornwallis and General Clinton likewise came to see me. The former went off soon afterward upon an expedition. The latter offered me a country seat, of which he had the disposal, where I might have my children inoculated with the small-pox, an operation which it would be dangerous to have performed in the city, as that disease was raging there violently. I accepted his offer with much satisfaction, and we made all necessary preparations to go there. I gave our cook ten guineas to purchase all kinds of provisions. But when he very soon came back and asked for more money, I learned to my surprise that the money I had given him would scarcely last for two days, so dear was everything, even the commonest thing. For example, one pound of meat, reckoning according to our money, cost twelve groschen ;* one pound of butter, eighteen groschen ; one turkey, four rix-thalers ; a fowl, twenty groschen ; an egg, four groschen ; a quart of milk, six groschen ; a bushel of potatoes, two rix-thalers ; a half bushel of turnips, two florins ; ten oysters, eight groschen ; and six onions, one rix-thaler. But what was there left for me to do but to bear it with patience ?†

One day a general was announced. I received him, and in the course of conversation he asked me, among other things, whether I was satisfied with my quarters ? My heart was too full of thankfulness for

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and William streets, the same house having been subsequently, and until late years, occupied by the Bank of New York."—*Valentine's Manual for* 1864, page 643.

* A groschen, as has been mentioned in a preceding note, is a fraction over three American cents.

† All contemporaneous accounts fully corroborate the statement of our authoress. The rich in the city at first strove to keep up their six courses, their three-side services, and their profusion of fish, flesh, and fowl, but at length their resources failed; many articles of food could no longer be obtained, and others were so dear as to exhaust the means of the wealthiest. A turkey was cheap at four dollars. Good meat could seldom be procured, and vegetables were extravagantly dear. Fifty dollars, says an eye-witness, would not feed a family for two days. Sir Henry Clinton entreated the farmers of the vicinity to bring in provisions, but in vain. Nor was he more successful in the foraging-parties he sent out. At sight of the enemy the alarm was given. The farmers of Westport and Southport, of Elizabeth-town and Rahway, hastily buried their corn and oats beneath the snow, and old family furniture was carried off at midnight and hidden in the depths of the forest. The British foraging-parties accordingly found the barns empty, the cattle driven off, and the farm-houses deserted. In their rage the foragers set fire to the old homesteads and desolated whole districts, thus increasing the general misery without accomplishing the least good.

all the kindness that had been shown me, not to give full vent to my feelings in this regard; and I at last expressed the wish to know personally my noble benefactor who had treated me with so much delicacy. He laughed, and just at that moment my husband stepped in and said to me, "That is the man who has shown us so much kindness!" I was so delighted at seeing him that I could not find words to express my feelings. Upon seeing my emotion the man was very much affected. I have invariably received from him the greatest proofs of his friendship.

The country residence of General Clinton, where we went, was an hour's ride from the city. The grounds were beautiful, as was also the house, but the latter was arranged more for a summer residence, and as we had come there in the month of December, we suffered much from the cold. Notwithstanding this, however, the inoculation was perfectly successful. Accordingly, as it was now completed, and we had nothing more to fear from the infection, we got ourselves in readiness to return to the city, and sent our cook and the rest of our servants ahead to prepare everything for our arrival, which we expected would be upon the following day. During the night, however, we had such a terrible storm that we believed the whole house would be overturned. As it was, an entire balustrade actually fell down with a dreadful crash, and on getting up the next morning, we saw that on account of snow having fallen during the night four or five feet on the level, and eight feet in drifts, it would be utterly impossible to venture forth without sledges. I therefore went to work to hunt up all that I could find for our dinner. An old hen that had been forgotten served us for soup, and some potatoes which the gardener gave us, with some salt meat that still remained over from our stock of provisions, made up the entire meal for more than fourteen persons, which number we then were.

On our return to New York I found, to my great amazement our new dwelling fitted up throughout with mahogany furniture. I was at first frightened at the expense which this would occasion. But Captain Willoe informed me that the entire cost would be defrayed by the Governor, and that the Commandant, General Patterson, considered himself fortunate in being able to justify the confidence which I had placed in the English nation. To render this remark intelligible, I must here state that I had assured him, when he consulted me upon the arrangement of our house, that I would leave everything entirely to the English, from whom, up to the present time, I had received sincere kindness and courtesy, and who certainly would still preserve toward us that full confidence which they had shown toward us.

They overwhelmed us with distinguished marks of courtesy and friendship, for which we had, in a great measure, to thank General Phillips, who in New York was very much beloved, and was so strong a friend of ours, that he declared that whatever was done for us, would

flatter him more than as if done for himself. I had also the good fortune during our stay to make many friends on my own account.

As the birthday of the Queen of England was approaching (which really comes in summer, but as the King's birthday also comes in that season, is celebrated in winter, to give more custom to the trades-people (as every one upon those days appears at court in gala-dress, they wished to celebrate the day with a great *fete;* and as it was the general wish—partly to please General Phillips, and partly to make me forget my own suffering—to confer on me a distinguished honor, they desired me to be queen of the ball. In order to bring this about they persuaded the wife of General Cornwallis' adjutant—who as an English lady of noble birth, would have had precedence over me—to remain at home on the ground that she was near her confinement. When at length the great day arrived, all the ladies assembled at Governor Tryon's, where they received me with all ceremony. The General introduced me to all the ladies, some of whom were envious of the honor which was shown me. But I immediately declared that I received this distinction only on account of the day, as they had conferred on me the honor of representing the Queen, and that in future I would give place to those ladies who were older than I. As there were quite a number present who were my elders, my explanation conciliated them. Their countenances, accordingly, quickly brightened up, and I was soon upon a pleasant footing with the whole company.

At six o'clock in the afternoon I was obliged to seat myself in a carriage with Generals Tryon and Patterson to be driven to the ball, where we were received with kettle-drums and trumpets.

At supper, I was obliged, as I represented the Queen, to sit under a canopy, and drink the first toast. I was certainly much touched at all the marks of friendship I received, although extremely tired; still, in order to show my gratitude, I cheerfully stayed as long as possible, and remained until two o'clock in the morning. Not only on this occasion, but during the whole of my sojourn in this place, I was loaded with kindness; and I passed the remainder of the winter very pleasantly, with the exception of suffering very much from the cold, as the commissary had not had a sufficient quantity of wood cut. To save expense, he had this work done by his negro slaves; and the winter setting in earlier than usual, and being impossible, as the river was frozen half over, to bring in wood either by boats or sledges, many of the garrison suffered for fuel. We, indeed, received an order for it; but how did that help the matter since there was no wood to be had? We were, therefore, often obliged to borrow wood of General Tryon for Saturday and Sunday, which we would return on Monday if we received any. The cold was so intense, that I frequently made the children lie in bed in order to keep them warm. Wood could not often be purchased for money; and if by chance a little was for sale, it cost ten pounds by the cord. I have myself paid

one piaster (which is a crown with us) for a single stick. The poor were obliged to burn fat, in order to warm themselves and cook their meals.*

One day I was at the house of the lady of General Cornwallis' aid-de-camp, who had been confined, and complained bitterly of this lack of wood; whereupon, she promised to send me some coals, which I could return at my own convenience. I showed so much joy at this, that a certain Major, named Brown, who happened to be present, and was attached to the commissariat, and who had already expressed much sympathy at our want of wood, was so much affected that he immediately left the room.

The next day, as I was looking out of the window, I saw quite a number of wagons full of chopped trees standing still in the street. Each wagon contained two cords of wood. I went into the room where the pastor, Mylius, sat with the children before the fire-place in which the last stick was burning, and said to him: 'Never before have I been envious; but now the distress and pain which these poor children suffer, make me so; for just now there has come to our very door four wagons filled with wood. How happy would I be if I only had some of it!' Scarcely had I thus spoken, when a servant brought me a message from Major Brown, stating that he had sent me these loads of wood with his compliments, and begging us to send to him whenever we should again be out of fuel. Imagine my joy, and my eagerness to thank our guardian angel. I had scarcely seen his face, as the lying-in chamber of milady had been so dark. Some days after I was at a ball where he also was expected to be present. He had been described to me as a man with a very prominent turned-up nose. For such a person, therefore, I looked attentively; but I was obliged to look for a long time, because the excellent man kept continually out of the way, that I might have no opportunity to thank him. At last, however, I found him, and thanked him right heartily. He then told me that up to that time he had known nothing of our necessity, but that when he heard my story he had not been able to go to sleep quietly the whole night, through fear that the dispositions which he had already made for our relief would not arrive sufficiently speedy. These 'dispositions' consisted in giving the order to cut down some of the trees in the great avenue in front of the city; †

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* "The wealthy," writes a contemporary, "shivered for cold in their splendid apartments. In vain did Sir Henry Clinton issue proclamations to the farmers of Long Island to send in their wood. In vain did he dispatch foraging-parties to cut down the forests on the large estates of the patriots William Floyd and William Smith, the patroons of Long Island. The demand for fuel could not be supplied, and the Baroness Riedesel, the caressed of all the army, suffered severely in that inclement winter."

† Probably, the present Wall street. All the principal highways of the city were adorned at this period with luxuriant shade-trees. A celebrated traveler, who

and when this proceeding was objected to on the ground that it would make considerable damage, he replied, that it was much better to spare a few trees than to have a family, who had served the King with so much zeal, suffer from want. He further told me that in future we must, under all circumstances, whenever anything was wanting that it belonged to the commissary to supply, apply directly to him. This acquaintance was of great advantage to us. My husband was supplied with many kinds of provisions; with Indian meal, part of which we used for bread and part for cake, and also with salted meat, which latter article, however, was entirely useless to us, as we received more than we could consume; and it often was so uneatable that I gave it away to get rid of it, especially since our servants were also supplied with the same kind of food. The Major, accordingly, advised us to pursue the same plan in this regard as the other generals, viz.: to exchange our meat for boxes of tallow and candles of spermaceti (which burn better and are more beautiful than those of wax), and also for butter, which they did gladly, as they were obliged to supply the soldiers with meat. By this means, we saved considerable. We were now no longer troubled for the want of wood, for they broke to pieces an old and worthless ship in order to furnish us with fuel, and from this time we received weekly two cords of fire-wood.

Throughout the whole winter, Generals Phillips, Tryon, and Patterson were our constant friends and guests, and every week we gave a gentleman's dinner party. This was all that we could afford to do, as everything was so terribly high in the city. At the end of the winter General Tryon sailed for England, but just before his departure, he sent to my house unbeknown to me, magnificent furniture, tapestry, carpets, and curtains, besides a set of silk hangings for an entire room. Never shall I forget the many marks of friendship which I have received from almost every one of this excellent nation, and it will always be to me a source of satisfaction to be able at any time to be of use to the English, as I have learned by experience how pleasant it is to receive kindness from foreigners.

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visited New York, just previous to the arrival of Governor Tryon, thus describes the various kinds then growing in the city: "In the chief streets there are trees planted, which in the summer give them a fine appearance, and during the excessive heat at that time, afford a cooling shade. I found it extremely pleasant to walk in the town, for it seemed quite like a garden. The trees which are planted for this purpose are chiefly of two kinds; the water-beech is the most numerous, and gives an agreeable shade in summer by its large and numerous leaves. The locust-tree is likewise frequent; its fine leaves and the odoriferous scent which exhales from its flowers, make it very proper for being planted in the streets near the houses and in the gardens. There are likewise lime-trees and elms in these walks, but they are not, by far, so frequent as the others. One seldom meets with trees of the same sort adjoining each other, they being in general placed alternately."

About this time our friendly relations began with our excellent friend General Clinton, who was the general-in-chief of the English army in the southern provinces of America. As is the case with every Englishman, it was at first very difficult for our acquaintance to ripen into intimacy. His first call upon us was one of ceremony, as he came as general-in-chief, attended by his entire staff. As his general appearance and conversation were agreeable, I said to his friend, General Phillips, that I regretted that he had treated us with so much ceremony, and that a more friendly manner would have better accorded with our feelings. Afterward he invited us out to his country seat to spend the summer, an invitation which was accepted. His country residence was magnificent, a most beautiful situation, orchard and meadows, and the Hudson River running directly in front of the house. Every thing was placed at our disposal, including fruits of the most delicious flavor; indeed, of this latter article we had more than we could eat. Our servants feasted on peaches even to satiety, and our horses, which roamed through the orchards, eagerly ate the fruit from the trees, disdaining that upon the ground, which every evening we had gathered up and given to the pigs to fatten them. It seems almost incredible, but nevertheless it is true, that with nothing but this fruit we fattened six pigs, the flesh of which was capital, only the fat was somewhat soft. Peach, apricot, and other fruit-trees are raised here without espaliers, and have trunks as thick as those of ordinary trees.

Not far from us were the Hell Gates, which are dangerous breakers for those ships that pass through them up the river. We often saw ships in danger, but only one was wrecked and went to pieces during our stay at this place.

General Clinton came often to visit us, but in hunter's dress, accompanied by only one aid-de-camp. On one of these occasions he said to us: 'I feel confident that you look upon me more as a friend than a stranger, and as I feel the same toward you, you shall always be regarded by me as such.' The last time he came to see us, he had with him the unfortunate—as he afterward became—Major André, who, the day afterward, set out upon the fatal expedition in which he was captured by the Americans and afterward hung as a spy. It was very sad that this pre-eminently excellent young man should have fallen a victim to his zeal and his kind heart, which led him to undertake such a precarious errand instead of leaving it to older and known officers, to whom properly the duty belonged, but whom on that very account (as they would be more exposed to danger) he wished to save.

We passed much of our time at this most agreeable place, but our contentment was broken in upon by a malignant fever that prevailed in New York, and of which in our family alone, twenty fell ill, eight dangerously. Among these eight were my husband and my daughter Gustava.

One can imagine my grief and apprehension; day and night I did nothing but divide my nursing between my husband and daughter. The former was so ill that we often thought he would not survive the day, and Gustava had such violent paroxysms of fever that she entreated me, when she was shivering with the ague, to lay myself upon her, at which times she violently shook me together with her bed, although she was only nine years old. It frequently happened that those sick of the fever died in these fits of shaking, and every day persons would tell me of fifty or sixty fresh burials, which certainly did not tend to raise my spirits. The heat which the sick suffered was so intense that their pulse beat one hundred and thirty-five times in a minute. All our servants were sick, and of course I was obliged to do everything. I was then nursing my little America, and had neither opportunity nor desire to lie down, except while giving her the breast. At such times I laid down upon the bed and fell asleep. At night I was often busied in making for my patients a lemonade of salts of wormwood, mixed with lemon-juice, sugar and water. By which means, as all the sick in the house had them, I used up in the space of two weeks, two full boxes of lemons, each box containing five hundred.

We remained the entire summer of 1780 upon this lovely estate. Two Miss Robinsons came to share our loneliness and enliven our little company. They remained with us a fortnight previous to our return to the city, when the news of the arrival of a ship from England bringing over the latest fashions, took them back again to the town. On our return to the city I scarcely recognized them in their odd and actually laughable garb, which a very pretty woman just over from England, had imposed upon them and the other New York ladies. This lady was with child and did not wish it to be known. Accordingly, she made them think that in England they wore bodices that were parted in the middle, whereby the points stuck upward, hoops as large around as those of a hogshead, and very short cloaks tied up with ribbons, all of which they believed implicitly and copied after.*

Upon our return to New York we were received in the most friendly

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* The taste for fashionable frivolity and display seems to have been the only thing unaffected by the privations of that gloomy winter. Eugene Lawrence, in speaking of New York City at this time, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, January 6th, 1857, says: "Meanwhile, in the midst of all this suffering and want, the city streets were filled with the fashions and the luxuries of Europe. The ladies crowded William street, and the merchants spread out the most costly wares. French silks captured in some unlucky vessels, sold readily at extravagant rates. Lutestrings and poplins, brocades, and the best broadcloth of England, were shown on the counters of William street and Wall, and it is a curious circumstance, that through all the war, William Prince, of Flushing, continued his advertisement of fruit and flowers, of magnolias and apricots, and of the finest grafts, and the rarest seeds."

manner, and our friends vied with each other in making the winter pass most pleasantly. My husband, General Phillips, and their aid-de-camps, were finally exchanged in the autumn of 1780, but the rest of the troops captured at Saratoga remained prisoners.

General Clinton, partly through friendship to my husband, and partly out of attachment to our present duke, wished to place General Riedesel in active service where he could serve to advantage. He, therefore, by virtue of the power which an English general has in his own army, appointed him Lieutenant-General and gave him the corresponding English allowance; which, on account of the dearness of everything (by reason of which we had difficulty in making both ends meet), proved very acceptable to us. At the same time he gave him a command at Long Island, which island lies opposite New York, being separated from it by only a narrow channel called the East River. I was not able during the winter to be with him, as the house in which he had his quarters, was not habitable for me, as it was possible to heat only a few rooms in it. My husband, accordingly, went back and forth, which he easily did all winter, as everything was quiet. The autumn before he was appointed to this post, he had a severe relapse of his old complaint, caused probably by a cold which he caught by going in sea-bathing while heated. He suddenly became perfectly stiff and could not speak, and had it not been for friend Colonel Wurmb, who fortunately was in his room, it might perhaps have been all over with him. The doctor immediately opened a vein and rubbed him strongly, and God once more spared him to me; but his cramps, oppressions, headaches, and drowsiness increased. All the physicians gave it as their opinion that the climate thoroughly disagreed with him, and that he never would be any better as long as he remained in the southern provinces of North America. Still there was nothing else for us to do. My husband could not think of receiving permission to leave, and was, therefore, obliged to remain at his post.

In the spring of 1781, I also settled down on Long Island, where we, although pretty lonesome, might have lived perfectly contented if we only could have been without solicitude; but as the river was not frozen over, the Americans constantly attempted surprises in order to take prisoners. Major Maybaum was drawn out of his bed, and we knew that they aimed to do the same thing with my husband. Our house was situated close to the shore and was perfectly isolated, so that if they had overcome the watch they could easily have carried him away. Every one was therefore constantly on the watch. Throughout the entire night at the slightest noise, he would wake up and place himself in readiness for an attack, and thus he lost considerable sleep. I also became so accustomed to watching that daylight would often surprise me when I would lie down and catch a few hours sleep, for it was only when my husband believed that I was wide awake and on guard, that he would allow him-

self to sleep, so terrible was to him the thought that he might again be taken prisoner. We had from our house a magnificent prospect. Every evening I saw from my window the City of New York, entirely lighted up, and as the city is built close to the shore, I saw its reflection in the water. We heard also the beating of the drums, and, if everything was particularly still, even the calls of the sentinels. We had our own boat, and could cross over in it to New York in a quarter of an hour."

At length, a definite treaty of peace was entered into by the United States and Great Britain, on the 3d of September, 1783; and on the 25th of November, of the same year—just seven years, two months, and ten days from the time the British had occupied New York in triumph—Washington entered the city at noon—at the same time that the British troops, having, as they supposed, prevented the immediate hoisting of American colors, by knocking off the cleats and greasing the flag-staff on Fort George—evacuated the city and sailed slowly down the bay. But this device availed them little. New cleats were at once nailed on to the pole; and before the British disappeared in the offing they heard the thunders of American cannon, proclaiming—as the Stars and Stripes were run up—the downfall of British supremacy in America!

A history of this period would be incomplete without an allusion to the newspapers published in the City of New York before and during the American Revolution.

The first newspaper published in New York City was the New York *Gazette*, established by William Bradford in October, 1725, just twenty-one years subsequent to the establishment at Boston of the first newspaper published in America—the *Newsletter*. It was printed on a half-sheet of foolscap, with a large and almost worn-out type. There is a large volume of these papers in the New York Society Library, in good preservation. The advertisements do not average more than three or four a week, and are mostly of runaway negroes. The ship-news was diminutive enough—now and then a ship, and some half-dozen sloops arriving and leaving in the course of the week. Such was the daily paper published in this, the commercial metropolis of America, one hundred and forty-one years ago!

Eight years after the establishment of Bradford's *Gazette*, the New York *Weekly Journal* was commenced by John Peter Zenger, and was distinguished for the raciness of its advertisements.*

The third paper published in New York was called the *Evening Post*. It was commenced by Henry De Forest in 1746. It was remarkable

* One of these advertisements was as follows:

Whereas, the wife of Peter Smith has left his bed and board, the public are cautioned against trusting her, as he will pay no debts of her contracting.

N. B.—The best of garden-seeds sold by the same Peter Smith, at the sign of the Golden Hammer.

chiefly for stupidity, looseness of grammar, and worse orthography, and died before it was able to walk alone.

In 1752 the *New York Mercury* was commenced, and in 1763 the title was changed to the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*. This paper was established by Hugh Gaine, at the sign of the Bible and Crown, Hanover Square. It was conducted with taste and ability, and became the best newspaper in the colonies. In 1763 Gaine was arraigned by the Assembly for publishing a part of the proceedings without permission, and withal incorrectly. He was a gentleman of a kind spirit, and never had the power to withhold an apology when it was asked; he accordingly apologized, was reprimanded, and discharged.

As the storm of war drew on in 1775, the *Mercury* contained a series of patriotic papers, under the signature of the "Watch-Tower." But as the British drew near to New York, the patriotism of Gaine began to cool; and during the whole course of the Revolutionary War his *Mercury* afforded very accurate indications of the state of the contest. (When with the *Whigs*, Hugh Gaine was a *Whig;* when with the *Royalists*, he was loyal.) When the contest was doubtful, equally doubtful were the politics of Hugh Gaine. In short, he was the most perfect pattern of the genuine *non-committal.* On the arrival of the British army he removed to Newark, but soon returned to the city, and published a paper devoted to the cause of the Crown. His course was a fruitful theme for the wags of the day; and at the peace, a poetical petition from Gaine to the Senate of the State, setting forth his life and conduct, was got up with a good deal of humor. His paper closed with the war.

Another paper, called the *New York Gazette*, was commenced by Wayman, the former associate of Parker. In 1766 Wayman was arrested and imprisoned for a contempt of the Assembly, upon no other charge than that of two typographical errors in printing the speech of Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of the Colony. One of these errors consisted in printing the word *never* for *ever*, by reason of which the meaning of the sentence was reversed. The Assembly, however, was more rigid in this case, from the suspicion entertained that this error was intentional; but such was clearly not the case.

A paper called the *New York Chronicle* was published during the years 1761–62, and then died. The *New York Pacquet* was next published in 1763, but how long it lived is not known. In 1766, Holt established the *New York Journal*, or *General Advertiser*, which in the course of the year was united with *Parker's Gazette*, the *Journal* being printed as a separate paper. John Holt edited the first Whig paper published in this city; nor, as in the case of Hugh Gaine, did his patriotism come and go, as danger approached or receded from the city. In 1774, Holt discarded the King's arms from the title of his paper, substituting in place of it a serpent, cut in pieces, with the expressive motto, "*Unite or die.*" In

January, 1775, the snake was united and coiled with the tail in his mouth, forming a double ring. On the body of the snake, beginning at the head, were the following lines:

> "United now, alive and free—
> Firm on this basis Liberty shall stand,
> And, thus supported, ever bless our land,
> Till Time becomes Eternity."

The designs both of 1774 and 1775 were excellent—the first by a visible illustration, showing the disjointed state of the colonies; and the second presenting an emblem of their strength when united. Holt maintained his integrity to the last. When the British took possession of New York he removed to Esopus, now Kingston, and revived his paper. On the burning of that village, by the enemy, in 1777, he removed to Poughkeepsie, and published the *Journal* there until the peace of 1783, when he returned to New York and resumed his paper under the title of the *Independent Gazette, or the New York Journal revived.* Holt was an unflinching patriot, but did not long survive the achievement of his country's freedom. He fell a victim to the yellow fever in 1798. The paper was continued by his widow for a little while, but ultimately fell into the hands of that celebrated political gladiator, James Cheetham.

The celebrated James Rivington began his paper in 1733, under the formidable title of *Rivington's New York Gazette; or, the Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser.* The imprint read as follows: "Printed at his *ever open* and uninfluenced press, fronting Hanover Square." It is well known that Rivington was the royal printer during the whole of the Revolutionary War; and it is amusing to trace the degrees by which his toryism manifested itself as the storm gathered over the country. The title of the paper originally contained the cut of a large ship under full sail. In 1774 the ship sailed out of sight, and the King's arms appeared in its place—and in 1775 the words *ever open and uninfluenced* were withdrawn from the imprint. These symptoms were disliked by the patriots of the country; and in November, 1775, a party of armed men from Connecticut entered the city on horseback, beset his habitation, broke into his printing office, destroyed his presses, and threw his types into *pi.* They then carried them away, melted, and cast them into bullets. Rivington's paper was now effectually stopped—*omitted*, like the case of the Oneida editor, *for want of room*, until the British army took possession of the City. Rivington himself, meantime, had been to England, where he procured a new printing apparatus, and returning, established the *New York Royal Gazette*, published by James Rivington, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty. During the remaining five years of the war Rivington's paper was the most distinguished for its lies and its disloyalty, of any journal in the colonies. It was published

twice a week; and four other newspapers were published in this city at the same time, under the sanction of the British officers—one arranged for each day, so that, in fact, they had the advantages of a daily paper. It has been said and believed that Rivington, after all, was a secret traitor to the Crown, and, in fact, the secret spy for General Washington. Be this, however, as it may, as the war drew to a close, and the prospects of the King's arms began to darken, Rivington's loyalty began to cool down; and by 1787 the King's arms had disappeared; the ship again sailed into sight; and the title of the paper, no more the *Royal Gazette*, was simply *Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser.* But although he labored to play the republican, he was distrusted by the people, and his paper was relinquished in the course of that year.

From this brief sketch of the history of newspapers, from their first introduction into the city, down to the period of the Revolution, an idea may be formed of the germ of the newspaper press, which is now one of the chief glories of our country. The public press of no other country equals that of New York City and the United States, either on the score of its moral or its intellectual power, or for the exertion of that manly independence of thought and action, which ought ever to characterize the press of a free people.

What a prophet would the great wizard novelist of Scotland have been, had the prediction which he put into the mouth of Galeotti Martivalle, the astrologer of Louis the Eleventh, in the the romance of Quentin Durward, been written at the period of its date! Louis, who had justly been held as the Tiberius of France, is represented as paying a visit to the mystic workshop of the astrologer, whom his Majesty discovered to be engaged in the then newly-invented art of multiplying manuscripts by the intervention of machinery—in other words, the apparatus of printing.

"Can things of such mechanical and terrestial import," inquired the King, "interest the thoughts of one before whom Heaven has unrolled her own celestial volumes?"

"My brother," replied the astrologer, "believe me that in considering the consequences of this invention, I read with a certain augury, as by any combination of the heavenly bodies, the most awful and portentous changes. When I reflect with what slow and limited supplies the stream of science hath hitherto descended to us; how difficult to be obtained by those most ardent in its search; how certain to be neglected by all who love their ease; how liable to be diverted or altogether dried up by the invasions of barbarism,—can I look forward without wonder and astonishment to the lot of a succeeding generation, on whom knowledge will descend like the first and second rain—*uninterrupted, unabated, unabounded*; fertilizing some grounds and overflowing others; changing the whole form of social life; establishing and overthrowing religions; erecting and destroying kingdoms—"

"Hold! Hold, Galeotti!" cried the King; "shall these changes come in our time?"

"No, my royal brother," replied Martivalle; "this invention may be likened to a young tree which is now newly planted, but shall, in succeeding generations, bear fruit as fatal, yet as precious, as that of the Garden of Eden—the knowledge, namely, of good and of evil."

THIRD PERIOD.

1783—1868.

From the Evacuation of New York City by the British to the present day.

"The city is ruined by the war, but its future greatness is unquestionable." So wrote a citizen of New York, at the close of the Revolutionary War, to a friend; and never was there a truer prophecy uttered. The trade of the city was indeed "ruined;" her treasury was empty; and her people were yet divided by domestic feuds. Still, this state of things could not last long. The position of New York among the Colonies had already become too important to be ignored for any length of time; and the same causes which, at an early period, made New York the center of the Colonial interest, were to continue in operation, until she should become that, which she now is—the metropolis of America. The Colonial Congress of 1765, the Provincial Congress of 1776, the selection of herself as the seat of the General Government in 1788, and the inauguration of Washington in 1789, were "all hints of the empire that was to be."

On the 13th of September, 1788, the adoption of the Federal Constitution was publicly announced; and New York was chosen, as the seat of the General Government. This action of the Convention was peculiarly gratifying to the citizens of New York, who at once took steps to celebrate the occasion with fitting ceremonies.*

* The account given in the text of the PROCESSION in honor of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as well as the narrative of the INAUGURATION BALL, is taken from the writings of the late Col. Wm. L. Stone, for thirty years the editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*. It is believed to comprise the only faithful historical record, political, festive, and fashionable, of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the organization of the Government, the pageantry attending it, and the demonstrations which followed that important epoch in our national history. The particulars were collected by Col. Stone, with much care and labor, from such printed accounts as could be found in the scattered remnants of the little dingy newspapers of that day, and, also, such facts as were yet dimly floating in the recollections of those few who were then surviving, and had been actors in the scenes described.

It is well that the festivities attendant upon such a momentous occasion should be embalmed for American generations yet unborn. The adoption of the Federal Constitution—the instrument which was to bind the almost disjointed members of the Republic together, as one people—was the most important event that the citizens of New York had ever been called upon to commemorate. The period intervening between the formation of the Constitution by the Convention, and its adoption by the number of States requisite to give it validity, was one of deep anxiety to the patriots of that day, not unmingled with fears as to the final result. A violent opposition sprang up in various parts of the Confederation, which was so successfully fomented by demagogues, and by those who feared they might lose weight in the national scale, should the new Federal edifice be erected, that the friends of the Constitution seeing nothing better than civil tumult and anarchy in the prospective, should that instrument be rejected, entertained the most lively apprehensions upon the subject. There were, likewise, among the opponents of the proposed Constitution, some good men, and real patriots, who honestly believed that, in the event of its adoption, too much power would pass from the States to the Federal Congress, and the Executive. The ablest tongues and pens in the Union were brought into action; and it was that contest which combined the united wisdom of Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, in the *Federalist*—the ablest exposition of the Constitution that ever has been, or, perhaps, ever will be written.

The action, however, of the respective States was slow. The proceedings of their conventions were watched with absorbing interest; and when it was found that the voice of New York would turn the scale—the Convention being in session in Poughkeepsie—all eyes were eagerly turned toward that quarter. The chief reason of New York's reluctance to come into the Constitutional Union was the fear—in view of the rising destiny of their city and State—of making over too much of their local power to the central government; especially their great share of revenue from imports, and their commanding position between New England and the South and West.* The contest, however, was not long in doubt. Hamilton redoubled his wonderful efforts, and Livingston put the whole energies of his capacious mind in requisition, and the Federalists triumphed. The news was received in New York City with unbounded delight; the clubs celebrated the event with dinners and great festivity, and the citizens gave themselves up to the most unequivocal evidences of gratification. But private manifestations of the public feeling was held not to be worthy of the occasion, and no time was lost in concerting the necessary measures for a public commemoration of the event, upon the most extensive and splendid scale that the public means

* Dr. Osgood's *New York in the Nineteenth Century.*

would allow. Nor has the pageantry of any American celebration since that day—not even excepting the Atlantic Cable Celebration of 1859—excelled it in the ardor of its enthusiasm, or in the splendor of its effect. In describing the procession on this occasion, Colonel Stone says:

"The procession was organized 'in the fields,' above the city; thence it moved down Broadway to Great Dock street; thence through Hanover Square and Queen—now Pearl street—up to Chatham; through Chatham to Division, and thence across, through Bullock street, to the grounds surrounding the country seat of Nicholas Bayard, near the present junction of Broadway and Grand street.

A volume would scarce suffice to detail the particulars necessary to a full description of the flags and emblems, and patriotic decorations, which graced the many divisions and subdivisions of this brilliant pageant—altogether exceeding anything of a kindred character previously exhibited in the New World. After a brilliant military escort came Captain Moore, in the character and ancient costume of Christopher Columbus, preceded and followed by a band of foresters, with axes, suitably appareled. The next division consisted of a large number of farmers, among whom were Nicholas Cruger, driving a six-ox team, and the present venerable John Watts holding a plough. All the implements of husbandry and gardening were borne in the procession, and the Baron Poelnitz attended a threshing-machine. Their horses were handsomely caparisoned, and led by boys in white uniforms. The tailors made a very brilliant display of numbers, uniforms, and decorations, of various descriptions. In the procession of the bakers were boys in beautiful dresses, representing the several States, with roses in their hands. There were likewise an equal number of journeymen in appropriate uniforms, with the implements of the calling, and a loaf of bread was borne in the procession ten feet long and three wide, on which were inscribed the names of the several States. The display of the brewers was happily conceived, and appropriate. In addition to their banners fluttering gayly in the air, they paraded cars with hogsheads and tuns, decorated with festoons of hop-vines, intertwined with handfuls of barley. Seated on the top of a tun was a living Bacchus—a beautiful boy of eight years old—dressed in flesh-colored silk, fitted snugly to the limbs, and thus disclosing all the fine symmetrical proportions of his body. In his hand he held a silver goblet, with which he quaffed the nut-brown, and on his head was a garland of hops and barley-ears. The coopers appeared in great numbers. Their emblem of the States was thirteen boys, each thirteen years of age, dressed in white, with green ribands at their ankles, a keg under their left arms, and a bough of white-oak in their right hands. Upon an immensely large car, drawn by horses appropriately adorned, the coopers were at work. They had a broken cask, representing the old confederacy, the staves of which all their skill could not keep together. In despair at

the repeated *nullification* which their work experienced, they all at once betook themselves to the construction of an entirely new piece of work. Their success was complete, and a fine, tight, iron-bound keg arose from their hand, bearing the name of the New Constitution. The procession of butchers was long, and their appearance highly respectable. Upon the car in their procession was a roasted ox, of a thousand pounds, which was given as a sweet morsel to the hungry multitude at the close of the day. The car of the sons of St. Crispin was drawn by four milk-white steeds, beautifully caparisoned. The tanners, curriers, and perukemakers followed next in order, each with various banners and significant emblems. The furriers, from the novelty of their display, attracted great attention. It was truly picturesque. Their marshal was followed by an Indian, in his native costume and armor, as though coming wild from the wilderness, laden with raw furs for the market. A procession of journeymen furriers followed, each bearing some dressed or manufactured article. These were succeeded by a horse, bearing two packs of furs, and a huge bear sitting upon each. The horse was led by an Indian, in a beaver blanket, and black plumes waving upon his head. In the rear came one of their principal men, dressed in a superb scarlet blanket, wearing an elegant cap and plumes, and smoking a tomahawk pipe. After these, in order, marched the stone-masons, bricklayers, painters, and glaziers, cabinet and chair-makers, musical-instrument makers, and the upholsterers. The decorations of the societies vied with each other in taste and variety, but that of the upholsterers excelled. The federal chair of state was borne upon a car superbly carpeted, and above which was a rich canopy, nineteen feet high, overlaid with deep blue satin, hung with festoons and fringes, and glittering in the sun as with 'barbaric pearl and gold.' It was sufficiently gorgeous to have filled the eye of a Persian emperor, in the height of oriental splendor and magnificence. Twelve subdivisions of various trades succeeded in the prescribed order, after which came the most imposing part of the pageant. It was the federal ship *Hamilton*, a perfectly constructed frigate of thirty-two guns, twenty-seven feet keel, and ten feet beam, with galleries and everything complete and in proportion, both hull and rigging. She was manned by thirty seamen and marines, with officers, all in uniform, and commanded by that distinguished Revolutionary veteran, Commodore Nicholson. The ship was drawn by ten horses; and in the progress of the procession went through every nautical preparation and movement, for storms, calms, and squalls, and for the sudden shifting of winds. In passing Liberty street, she made signal for a pilot, and a boat came off and put one on board. On arriving before Constable's house, Mrs. Edgar came to the window, and presented the ship with a suit of rich silk colors; the yards were instantly manned, and the sailors gave three hearty cheers. When passing Old Slip, a Spanish government ship gave her a salute of

thirteen guns, which was returned by the *Hamilton* with as much promptness as though she had actually been a ship of war upon the wide ocean. Next after the ship came the pilots, and the Marine Society. To these succeeded the printers, bookbinders, and stationers, led by those veterans of the type and quill, Hugh Gaine and Samuel Landon. They had a car, upon which the printers were at work; the press was plied briskly, and impressions of a patriotic ode distributed as they were taken among the multitude. Their banners were worthy of their proud vocation. To these succeeded twenty-one subdivisions, of as many different trades, each moving under its own banners; after which followed the learned professions and the literary societies. The lawyers were preceded by John Lawrence, Esq., supported by John Cozine and Robert Troup. The Philological Society, headed by Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Esq., the president, was the next. One of the founders of this Society was Noah Webster, LL.D. the great American lexicographer, who was in the procession. The standard was borne by William Dunlap, Esq. These three gentlemen yet survive. The officers and members of the university came next, and their successors were the Chamber of Commerce and merchants, headed by John Broome, president. William Maxwell, vice-president of the Bank, followed in a chariot, and William Laight, the secretary, was mounted upon a noble steed. Physicians, strangers, and gentlemen who were members of Congress, then in session in New York, closed the civic procession; and the whole was brought up by a detachment of artillery.

The procession contained nearly five thousand people; and the spectacle was more solemn and imposing, and more truly splendid, than had ever before been presented to the eye of man on the American Continent. It was, indeed, a pageant of indescribable interest, and to most, of double attraction; the occasion being one in which the deepest sympathies were enlisted, and it being also the first display of pomp and circumstance which they had ever witnessed. The whole population of the city had given themselves up to the enjoyment of the occasion, and gladness, in all its fullness, was depicted in every countenance, while a noble enthusiasm swelled every bosom. The bond of union was complete, and every man felt as though his country had been rescued, in the last hour, from the most imminent peril.

When the procession reached the country seat of Nicholas Bayard, a noble banquet was found already spread for the whole assemblage beneath a grand pavilion temple, covering a surface of eight by six hundred feet, with plates for six thousand people. This splendid rural structure had been erected in the short space of four days, and the citizens were indebted for it to the taste and enterprise of Major L'Enfant, by whom it was designed, and under whose direction the work was executed. The two principal sides of the building consisted of three large pavilions, connected by a colonnade of about one hundred and fifty feet

front, and forming two sides of an obtuse angle; the middle pavilion, rising majestically above the whole, terminated with a dome, on the top of which was Fame and her trumpet, proclaiming a new era, and holding in her left hand the Standard of the United States and a roll of parchment, on which was inscribed, in large characters, the three remarkable epochs of the War of the Revolution: the Declaration of Independence, the Alliance with France, and the Peace of 1783. At her side was the American eagle, with extended wings, resting on a crown of laurel gracing the top of the pedestal. Over six of the principal pillars of this colonnade escutcheons were placed, inscribed with the ciphers of the several powers in alliance with the United States, viz.: France, Spain, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, Morocco; and over these were displayed the colors of these respective nations, which added greatly to the brilliancy of the entablature, already decorated with festoons and branches of laurels. The extremities of this angle were joined by a table forming part of a circle, and from this ten more colonnades were extended, each four hundred and forty feet in length, radiating like the rays of a circle; the whole having one common center, which was also the center of the middle pavilion, where sat the President of Congress. At the extremity of each colonnade was a pavilion, nearly similar to the three before mentioned, having their outsides terminated in a pediment crowned with escutcheons, on which were inscribed the names of the States now united. The whole of the colonnades were adorned with curtains elegantly folded, and with wreaths and festoons of laurels dispersed with beautiful and tasteful effect. The various bands of music which had enlivened the march of the procession were concentrated in the area within the angle first described, during the banquet, but so disposed as not to intercept the prospect from the seat of the President, through the whole length of the ten colonnades. The repast concluded, the procession was reorganized, and marched again into the city, and were dismissed at the Bowling Green, where the Federal ship fired a closing salute.

Thus passed the 23d of July, 1788, in the City of New York—a day which deserves to be remembered by the patriot, the politician, and the philosopher, as that on which the people of the first city in the western world gave simultaneously the strongest and most enthusiastic demonstration of their attachment to the great principles of "our Federal Union," as those principles were understood by the distinguished architects who formed the civil structure. On that occasion all narrow and bigoted distinctions were lost, and absorbed in that noblest of passions, the love of country, and the determination to secure and preserve the blessings of civil and religious liberty. ESTO PERPETUA!

The winter festivities of 1788–89, however, were succeeded by matters of a public nature, which quickened the pulse of the politician, and excited a lively degree of attention, not only in the City of New

York, but throughout the borders of the young republic. The elections under the new Constitution had been held ;—Washington—the man of all others ' first in the hearts of his countrymen'—had been spontaneously designated by the people as their first Chief Magistrate under the new system; and the constituted authorities elect were about to assemble in New York, to give action to the new political machinery. Congress, consisting for the first time of two branches—a Senate and House of Representatives—was to meet on the 4th day of March, 1789, and the thoughts of all were directed with deep solicitude to the period at which their labors were to be commenced.

The day, ' big with the fate of Rome,' at length arrived ; but it brought not a quorum of either House ; for although the men of those days cannot be safely charged with a deficiency of patriotism, yet they had no sinister or ambitious purposes to accomplish, and therefore did not assemble in organized bodies of partisans at the first tap of the political drum. Adjourning over from day to day, until nearly the " ides of March" had arrived, without any accession being made to their numbers; on the 11th of that month, the Senators present jointly addressed a circular letter to the absentees, urging their prompt attention to assist in putting the government into operation. The request was repeated by letter on the 18th.

The House of Representatives was similarly circumstanced. Only thirteen members appeared on the day appointed, and these were from the five States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina—a commonwealth, which, though always proud and high-spirited, was then as anxious to come *into* the Union, as she seems since to have been to break *out* of it. The members gathered in by degrees, though slowly, and the House, like the Senate, adjourned over daily, until the 1st of April, when a quorum appeared, and Frederick Augustus Muhlenburgh, of Pennsylvania, was elected Speaker. Among the most distinguished patriots then present were Roger Sherman, Fisher Ames, Richard Bland Lee, James Madison, Elias Boudinot, and Thomas Tudor Tucker.

The members of the Senate came in still more tardily ; but on the 6th of April, the arrival of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, enabled them to form a quorum, and commence their labors. John Langdon was elected President of the Senate, *pro tem.*, and Samuel A. Otis, Secretary. Both Houses thus being organized, they proceeded to business—their first act being to canvass the votes returned for President and Vice-President, as prescribed in the new Constitution. At the time the election by the people was held, but ten States had placed themselves within the pale of the new Constitution. The whole number of votes cast was sixty-nine ; and so entirely did the Father of his Country enjoy the affection of his children, that without the aid of caucuses, or nominating conventions, every vote

was given for GEORGE WASHINGTON. 'If we look over the catalogue of the first magistrates of nations, whether they have been denominated presidents or consuls, kings or princes, where shall we find one whose commanding talents and virtues, whose over-ruling good fortune, have so completely united all hearts and voices in his favor? Who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign nations and his fellow-citizens with equal unanimity? Qualities so uncommon are no common blessing to the country that possesses them. But it was by these great qualities, and their benign effects, that Providence had marked out the first head of this great nation, with a hand so distinctly visible, as to have been seen by all men and mistaken by none.'* By the Constitution, while it bore the unadulterated impress of the wisdom of its framers, and before it had been impaired by amendment, the candidate receiving the second highest number of votes was to be declared the Vice-President. The lot fell upon one who, during the whole combat of the Revolution, had been in the halls of legislation what his illustrious compeer had been in the field—first in wisdom and foremost in action.†

The gratifying result having been thus ascertained agreeably to the constitutional forms, Charles Thomson, the Secretary of the old Congress, was dispatched to Mount Vernon, as a commissioner to notify the chieftain of his election. Meantime a discussion arose in both houses, resulting in an irreconcilable difference between them, of a character at once delicate and interesting. It called forth great talent, and first awakened those feelings of democratic jealousy and distrust of titles and power, of which we have seen so much since. Not that our modern republicans are opposed *per se*, to titles of a subordinate character, since for this species of distinction no people on earth appear so fond, or in fact enjoy so much, or adhere to it with greater tenacity. Many of the most respectable citizens were constant listeners to the debates of which we have just been speaking; for they were not only interested in the principle involved, but loved to study the characters of those noble spirits who were now assembled to consummate the revolution which their wisdom and valor had achieved, by reducing the discordant members of the republic to order, and adjusting the details of a government, under the firm but harmonious action of which, complicated as it was, it was hoped the principles of civil and religious freedom would for ages find shelter and protection. The question at issue was upon the adoption of some respectful title by which the President of the United States should be addressed in their official intercourse with him. The first proposition in the Senate

* Inaugural Address of the first Vice-President—the elder Adams.

† The votes stood as follows—George Washington, 69; John Adams, 34; John Jay, 9; Robert H. Harrison, 6; John Rutledge, 6; John Hancock, 4; George Clinton, 3; Samuel Huntington, 2; John Milton, 2; and one each for James Armstrong, Edward Telfair, and Benjamin Lincoln.

was, that the official address should be 'His Excellency.' But this was not considered as sufficiently elevated. It was at length determined by that body, that the address should be—'His Highness the President of the United States, and the Protector of their Liberties.' But the House of Representatives obstinately refused to sanction any title whatever, and declared that the constitutional address—'To the President,'—was the only title which, as consistent republicans, they could sanction. Committees of conference were appointed, but to no purpose. The indomitable spirit of the House of Representatives was not to be moved. The Senate finally resolved 'that it would be proper to address the President by some respectful title; but, for the sake of harmony, they would for the present act in conformity with the House of Representatives.' And thus the matter has rested to this day.

Summoned by the worthy messenger of Congress to repair to the seat of government and assume the high trust which had been conferred upon him by the people, the progress of the President elect, from the shades of Vernon to New York, was like a triumphant procession along the whole distance. At Philadelphia he was met by Governor St. Clair, General Mifflin, and other distinguished citizens, with the most rapturous enthusiasm. A grand banquet was prepared, of which he partook, and addresses were presented to him from all classes of the people, expressive of their gratitude for his past services, their joy for his present elevation, and their confidence in his future administration. As he passed through the streets, the welkin rang with their joyous acclamations, and shouts of 'Long live George Washington, the father of his people,' resounded from thousands of voices. But however flattering would have been these spontaneous marks of popular affection to ordinary mortals, the conduct of the great chief on the occasion illustrated the republican virtue of dignified humility, and showed how excellent is glory when earned by virtue. Instead of assuming the pomp of royalty, or of any personal superiority, he sought throughout to prove himself, not only the friend of the people, but one of them.

An escort attended him from the hospitable city of Penn, until he was received by the citizens of Trenton, into which place he was conducted by the civil and military authorities of New Jersey, with every patriotic demonstration of respect and joy. This place had been rendered memorable by the capture of the Hessians, and by the repulse of the British troops near the bridge over the Delaware, the night before the battle of Trenton. Recollecting these circumstances, the ladies of that city formed and executed the design of testifying their gratitude to the chieftain for the protection of their daughters, by celebrating those actions in their pageant. For this purpose a triumphal arch was raised on the bridge, of twenty feet span, supported by thirteen pillars, each of which was entwined with wreaths of evergreens. The arch was covered with

branches of laurel, and decorated on the inside with evergreens and flowers. Suitable inscriptions were tastefully disposed, intertwined with flowers of various hues. On the center of the arch above, stood a dome, bearing the dates of the glorious actions referred to, inscribed in letters of gold, and enwreathed with flowers. The summit of the dome displayed a large sun-flower, which, directing to the sun, signified, in the language of Flora, "*To you alone*"—an emblem of the unanimity of the people in his favor. Assembled beneath the arch were many ladies, surrounded by their daughters, to welcome their former deliverer and defender. As the chieftain passed beneath the arch, a choir of girls, dressed in white, and crowned with wreaths and chaplets of flowers, sung a *sonata* composed for the occasion, commencing—

"Welcome mighty chief once more."—

Each of the white-robed misses carried a basket of flowers, which, as the concluding line—

"Strew your hero's way with flowers,"—

were scattered in his path as he advanced. The pageant was simple and beautiful; and the General returned thanks for the compliment in a card which was published at the time, and in which the white-robed maidens were particularly mentioned.

Thence to Elizabethtown, the journey of the chieftain was a continued pageant, in which no means were left untried by the people to testify their attachment to the ruler of their choice. At this point, preparations had been made to receive their illustrious fellow-citizen by the authorities of New York. A splendid barge, constructed for the occasion, and elegantly decorated, had been dispatched thither to receive the beloved soldier and statesman, in a manner corresponding with his exalted character, and the dignity of the station he was about to fill. The barge was rowed by thirteen masters of vessels, Thomas Randall, Esq., acting as cockswain, and commanded by Commodore Nicholson. A deputation from the Senate and House of Representatives, together with the Chancellor of the State, the Adjutant-General, and the Recorder of of the City, proceeded to Elizabethtown in the barge, which was accompanied by two others, one being occupied by the Board of the Treasury, and the other by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of War.

The embarkation took place on the morning of April 23d—as clear and beautiful a day as could have been desired. A salvo of artillery announced the departure of the flotilla from the Jersey shore, and the spectacle, as the fleet of boats which had joined the procession emerged from the narrow pass of the Kills into the noble bay of New York, was of the most animating description. From every point, the smaller craft

of all kinds and degrees, sped their way thither to join in the fleet. All the flags and nautical decorations upon which hands could be laid for the occasion, were put in requisition, and were now fluttering in the breeze, as the thousand boats danced lighty over the blue waters, and the many thousands of oars, briskly plied, flashed in the sunbeams, as with every stroke they were lifted from the foam. Every ship in the harbor was gayly dressed for the occasion, excepting the *Galveston*, a Spanish man-of-war, which lay at anchor, displaying only her own proper colors. The contrast which she presented when compared with the splendid flags and streamers floating from every other vessel in the bay, especially the government ship, the *North Carolina*, was universally observed, and the neglect was beginning to occasion unpleasant remarks; when, as the barge of the General came abreast, in an instant, as if by magic, the Spaniard displayed every flag and signal known among nations. This handsome compliment was accompanied by a salute of thirteen guns. Salutes were also fired from the *North Carolina* and the Battery, of thirteen guns each.

Stairs for the landing of the chieftain had been prepared upon Murray's Wharf, on arriving at which a salute was fired by a detachment of artillery commanded by Captain Van Dyck. He was there received by Governor Clinton, who made a congratulatory address on the occasion, together with the principal officers of the State, and the Mayor and Corporation of the city. There was a very large assemblage of people at the dock, waiting anxiously—but not impatiently—for the moment when they could greet the arrival of the great object of their proudest hopes and affections, and gratify their desires of looking—many of them again, and many others for the first time—upon that noble form and godlike countenance. There was no crowding for rank, or struggle for places, but all were respectful and decorous in their demeanor. One old man, whose head was frosted by upward of seventy winters, standing upon the wharf, was particularly noted as laboring under deep and evident emotion. He succeeded in grasping the hand of the chieftain, and, as he passed along, audibly but involuntarily expressed himself as follows:—'I have beheld him when commanding the American armies; I saw him at the conclusion of peace, returning to the bosom of his family in his primeval habitation; and now I behold him returning to take the chair of the Presidentship. I have not now another wish but that he may die as he has lived, THE BELOVED OF HIS COUNTRY!'

From the landing, the chief was conducted by a numerous procession, civil and military, through Queen street to the quarters of Governor Clinton, in the large and ancient structure yet standing in Pearl street, near the intersection of Pine.* The military portion of the procession

* Now called the United States Hotel.

consisted of Captain Stokes' dragoons, Captain Van Dyck's artillery, the German Guards of Captain Scriba, a detachment of infantry under Captains Swartwout and Steddiford, and the artillery of Colonel Bauman. Next came the Corporation, with the public officers; the President elect walked with Governor Clinton, his old companion in arms. The clergy followed in a body. The foreign ambassadors in their carriages came next, and the citizens promiscuously brought up the rear. The whole were under the direction of Colonel Morgan Lewis (who yet survives, full of years and honors), marshal of the day, assisted by Majors Morton and Van Horne, the former of whom is yet the active Major-General of the New York artillery.

The day was one of unmingled joy. No former event of a civic character had more deeply arrested the public attention. The hand of labor was suspended, and the various pleasures of the city were concentrated into a single enjoyment. All ranks and professions, with one universal acclaim, joined in the loud welcome to 'The Father of his Country.' The city was illuminated in the evening; and many beautiful and appropriate transparencies were exhibited, creditable at once to the citizens who displayed them and to the artists by whom they were executed.

The 30th day of April, 1789, was appointed by Congress for the august ceremony of inducting the first President of our Federal Union into his exalted station. Pursuant to previous notice and concert, all the churches in the city were opened at nine o'clock on the morning of that day, and their respective congregations repaired to them, to unite in imploring the blessing of Heaven on the new government. In these enlightened days, when chaplains are voted out of legislative halls from a sensitive regard to the rights of conscience and the people's money, it may, perhaps, appear strange that such a concerted ceremony should have preceded the other duties of the day. But the truth is, our Revolutionary forefathers were a race of men *sui generis*, and they had a way of doing things peculiar to themselves. They were in the habit of imploring the blessing of Heaven on all their important undertakings, and of returning thanks for all signal blessings; and at the time of the establishment of the Federal Government, the march of mind had not yet been so rapid as altogether to have left this custom in forgetfulness.

At twelve o'clock a procession was formed under the conduct of Colonel Lewis, consisting of the same detachments of the State troops which had been detailed for the reception of the President elect on his landing. The President's house was then in Cherry street, a few doors from Franklin Square—which was at that period the court end of the town. The procession moved thence through Queen, Great Dock and Broad streets, until they arrived in front of the building called Federal Hall—it having been determined that the ceremony of administering the

oath should take place in the open space in front of the Senate Chamber, which was on the second story of the building, and in full view of the people who should assemble in Wall and Broad streets as spectators Stopping at the proper distance, the procession was divided into two parallel lines, facing inwardly, and the 'observed of all observers' passed through with stately and solemn tread, attended by John Jay, General Knox, Chancellor Livingston, and other distinguished gentlemen. They were conducted first to the Senate Chamber, where the President elect was introduced to both Houses, assembled in convention to receive him. Thence the illustrious individual was conducted to the gallery or terrace before mentioned, overlooking the two streets in which the multitude had assembled.

As the building under whose lofty pediment this imposing scene was exhibited has been so long swept from the face of the earth that few of the present generation have any distinct recollection of it, a description of it may aid our attempt to depict the sublime ceremony, which it is the principal design of the present chapter to bring before the reader. On the site of the old City Hall, which had served the provincials for a Court-House, and was a mean, unsightly object, projecting awkwardly into Wall street from the north, a noble edifice had been erected for the accommodation of Congress, on a plan and under the direction of Monsieur L'Enfant, a French architect, at that time in high repute, whose name we had occasion to mention in a preceding page. This building, like the first, projected into Wall street, but permitted foot-passengers to continue their promenades through an arched way. Over this arcade was a balcony, the pediment projecting over, which was supported by four massive Doric pillars, dividing the open space into three parts, and forming an area similar in that respect to the divisions in Raphael's 'Beautiful Gate of the Temple.' After the adoption of the Constitution, this building was called Federal Hall.* Its front was upon Broad street, which was terminated by it. Persons on the balcony would consequently be in full view from that street; and it was there, within a few yards of the Hall, that a few select spectators took their stand.

The volunteer companies of infantry were paraded in front of the Hall on Wall street. A troop of horse, uniformed and equipped much after the manner of Lee's and Sheldon's dragoons (as may be seen in the picture of Jack Laughton, the hero of Cooper's 'Spy,' as painted by our distinguished countryman, Dunlap), were prominent figures. Of the foot-soldiers, the most conspicuous were two companies of grenadiers, one of which was composed of the tallest youths of the city, and the other was the company of Germans, commanded by Captain Scriba, many of whom had been the slaves of the Prince of Hesse Cassel, and

* In later years, succeeded by the Custom-House, which is now (1868) the United States Sub-Treasury.

other petty sovereigns in the German states, but who now gloried in the liberty purchased for them, and secured to them by those whom they had been forced from their own country to assist in subduing. The first were dressed in blue, with red facings and gold-laced ornaments, cocked hats with white feathers, with waistcoats and breeches, and black gaiters or spatterdashes, close buttoned from the shoe to the knee, and covering the shoe-buckle. The second, or German company, wore blue coats, with yellow waistcoats and breeches, black gaiters, similar to those already described, and towering caps, cone-shaped, and faced with black bear-skin. A company in the full uniform of Scotch Highlanders, with the national music of the bagpipe, were seen among the military of the day, as also were several well disciplined and well equipped corps of light infantry and artillery. Colonel Lewis, the Marshal, was assisted by Major Morton, acting aid-de-camp, as on the occasion of the landing one week before.

Both Houses of Congress having left their respective chambers to witness the ceremony, now quite filled the balcony and the space behind it. Every part of the building was thronged. From the balcony the view of Broad street was as of one mass, a silent and expectant throng; with faces upturned they gazed upon the great object of their regard, as he came forth from the interior of the Hall, and took his place in the center of the balcony, between the two pillars which formed the boundaries of the middle compartment of the picture. He made his appearance in a plain suit of brown cloth, coat, waistcoat, and breeches, white silk stockings, and buckles of the simplest fashion in his shoes, and every article of his dress was of American manufacture.* His head was uncovered, his hair powdered and dressed in the prevailing fashion of that day, completed the costume in which his tall, fine figure was presented to view, at the moment which formed that epoch in the history of nations.

John Adams, the Vice-President, who had a few days previously been inducted into office without parade in the Senate, a short, athletic figure, in a somewhat similar garb, but with the old-fashioned Massachusetts wig, dressed and powdered, stood upon the right of the chieftain. Roger Sherman was seen in the group, a little behind, standing with Hamilton, and many other sages and warriors, among whom was the American artillerist, Knox, and the accomplished Baron Steuben.

Opposite to the President elect stood Chancellor Livingston, in a full suit of black, ready to administer the oath of office. Between them the Secretary of the Senate, a small, short man, held the open Bible upon a rich crimson cushion. The man on whom all eyes were fixed, stretched

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* It is a fact that Washington and Adams were entirely clad in American fabrics on the occasion here described.

forth his hand with simplicity and dignity. The oath of office was administered. The Bible was raised, and his head bowed upon it to kiss the sacred volume. The Chancellor then proclaimed that it was done, in a full distinct voice, and in the following words: 'LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES!' The silence of thousands was at an end—the air was rent with acclamations, dictated by reason, and bursting from the hearts and tongues of men who felt that the happiness of themselves, their posterity, and their country was secured.

The President bowed and retired to the Hall of the Representatives, where the Senate also assembled, and he delivered his inaugural speech. Thence, the President, accompanied by the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the members of both Houses, repaired in procession to St. Paul's Church, where Divine service was performed by Bishop Provost, the Chaplain of the Senate; and before the adjournment of Congress, they passed a resolution requesting the President to issue his proclamation, recommending to the people of the United States to observe a day of thanksgiving and prayer, on account of the successful organization of the new government. Strange to say, although Washington himself had been the President of the Convention which formed the Constitution, he had not discovered that such an act was unconstitutional! He issued the proclamation, and the day was observed by the people accordingly. But we, of the present generation, having had more time to study that instrument, know better its true intent and meaning than those who made it—not only on religious subjects, but divers and sundry others.

To return from this digression, however—such was the spectacle; so simple, so dignified was this august ceremony! Contrast it with the impious mockery of Heaven and the degrading pageantry displayed to mislead the children of earth, which attends the coronation of European potentates, and every American must feel proud, and justly proud, when he contemplates the picture it presents of the institutions and manners of his own country! 'It seemed,' said a young gentleman in a letter to a distant father, 'to be a solemn appeal to Heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man,' he added, 'I may, perhaps, be an enthusiast; but I confess I was under an awful and religious persuasion that the Gracious Ruler of the Universe was looking down at that moment with peculiar complacency upon an act which, to the American portion of his creatures, was so very important. Under this impression, when the distinguished Chancellor of New York announced, in a very feeling manner, the words LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON, my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air.'

The proceedings of the day had all been marked by that gravity and solemnity befitting the importance of the occasion. It was, however, a day of unmingled rejoicing; and after the more imposing civic and religious ceremonies were over, the popular feeling broke forth in the usual manifestations of gladness. The festivities closed by an illumination in the evening of unparalleled splendor, and by a display of fireworks under the direction of Colonel Bauman, of the artillery, which had only been equaled on this side the Atlantic by the memorable pyrotechnical exhibition which took place at West Point during the Revolution, when our French allies were celebrating the birth of the Dauphin—the unfortunate young prince who subsequently, after his father's execution, himself fell a victim to that spirit of freedom which those French officers imbibed in this country, and which running to riot after their return, drenched the whole surface of France in blood.

Great pains had been taken by the principal citizens and the public authorities in the preparation of appropriate transparencies. At the foot of Broadway a splendid painting was exhibited, representing the Virtues of Fortitude, Justice, and Wisdom, intended as emblems, the first of the President, the second of the Senate, and the third of the House of Representatives. Of the propriety of the first the world had had the fullest evidence; and the two others were well applied then, however great would be the solecism of such an appropriation of those attributes in later and more degenerate days. The Federal Hall was illuminated with great splendor, and attracted universal attention. The Theater, then situated at the corner of Fly-Market Slip, was likewise tastefully illuminated by various patriotic and attractive paintings. The ship *North Carolina*, lying off the Battery, displayed a glorious pyramid of stars, lustrous and beautiful as the lamps of heaven.

The illuminations of private residences which attracted the greatest attention, were those of the French and Spanish Ministers—the Count Moustier and Don Gardoqui. These Ministers both felt a lively interest in the rising destinies of the young republic, and lost no suitable occasion for testifying their friendship. Their houses were situated in Broadway, near the Bowling Green, and they seem to have exerted a generous rivalship in their preparations for celebrating this event. The illuminations of both were in a style of elegance and splendor alike novel, attractive, and beautiful. The doors and windows of Count Moustier displayed splendid borderings of lamps, with fancy pieces in each window of tasteful and complimentary designs. But the decorations of the Spaniard's mansion excelled. The *tout ensemble* formed a superbly brilliant front. The principal transparency represented the figures of the Graces, exceedingly well executed, among a pleasing variety of patriotic emblems, together with shrubbery, arches, flowers, and fountains. The effect was greatly heightened by the disposition of moving pictures of persons and figures in the

background, so skillfully devised and executed as to present the illusion of a living panorama in a little spot of fairy land.

But we will not dwell too long upon the incidents of this joyful evening, as other objects crowd upon our attention. The inauguration was succeeded by a round of *fetes* of a different description, the recollection of which it is our design briefly to revive, before concluding the present chapter of reminiscences.

For several subsequent days, the time of the President was much occupied in receiving visits, official and unofficial, of individuals, societies, and public bodies, calling to pay their respects to the first magistrate. In all instances, their reception was such as still more to endear the illustrious man in their affections; for although inured to the camp, and in earlier life to the still rougher service of border warfare in the wilderness, no one could dispense the courtesies of the drawing-room, or the ceremonies of state with more true dignity, blended with a just measure of affability and condescension, than Washington.

Extensive preparations had been made by the subscribers to the city dancing assemblies, to pay the President the compliment of an inauguration ball. The honored lady of the chieftain, however, had not accompanied her august husband to New York, but was to follow in a few days. The anxiety for her arrival was, therefore, great, though of course proportionably less than it had been for the President elect himself. But a short time intervened before her approach to Elizabethtown was announced, accompanied by the lady of Robert Morris, of Philadelphia—then in the Federal Senate. She was met by the President at Elizabethtown Point, who proceeded thither, with Robert Morris and several other gentlemen of distinction, in the barge already described, rowed, as before, by thirteen eminent pilots, in handsome white dresses. The passage through the bay again presented a brilliant spectacle; a salute was fired on passing the Battery, and on her landing she was welcomed by crowds of citizens who had assembled to testify their joy.

The ball was truly an elegant entertainment, and is recollected as such by a few who yet survive of the brilliant circle that graced it. The old 'City Assembly Rooms,' in which it took place, was in a large wooden building standing upon the site of the present City Hotel. In addition to the distinguished pair for whom it was given, it was honored by the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House, and most of the members of both branches of Congress; Governor (George) Clinton, Chancellor Livingston, Chief-Justice Yates, of New York; the Hon. John Jay, General Knox, the Commissioners of the Treasury, James Duane, Mayor of the city; the Baron Steuben, General Hamilton, the French and Spanish Ambassadors, and many other distinguished gentlemen, both Americans and foreigners. Never was a lady, either in public or private life, more popular than Mrs. Washington, and from the moment of her arrival, the

most respectful attentions had been paid to her by the principal ladies of the city, and by those likewise of celebrity from a distance. A numerous and brilliant collection of ladies consequently graced the saloon with their presence, and the decorations were such as in all respects comported with their presence and the proud occasion. Among the leading circle were the lady of his Excellency Governor Clinton, Lady Sterling, Lady Mary Watts, Lady Kitty Duer, La Marchioness de Brehan, Mrs. Langdon, Mrs. Dalton, Mrs. Duane (the Mayoress), Mrs. Peter Van Brook Livingston, Mrs. Livingston, of Clermont; Mrs. Chancellor Livingston, the Misses Livingston, Lady Temple, Madame de la Forest, Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Gerry, Mrs. Edgar, Mrs. McComb, Mrs. Lynch, Mrs. Houston, Mrs. Griffin, Mrs. Provost, the Misses Bayard, and many others of the most respectable families in the State and from abroad. The whole number of ladies and gentlemen at the *fete* exceeded three hundred.

There was more of etiquette in the arrangements for this complimentary ball than was thought by some to be exactly consistent with our republican institutions, and more, in fact, than was altogether agreeable to the feelings of HIM in whose honor it was observed. In connection with the managers of the assemblies, Colonel Humphries and Colonel William S. Smith were selected to adjust the ceremonies, and their arrangements were reported to have been as follows: At the head of the room, upon a platform handsomely carpeted, and beneath a rich drapery of curtains and banners, was placed a damask-covered sofa, upon which the President and Lady Washington were to be seated. The platform was ascended by a flight of three or four steps. The costume of the gentlemen was prescribed; their hair was to be dressed in bags, with two long curls on the sides, with powder, of course, and all were to appear and dance with small swords. Each gentleman, on taking a partner to dance was to lead her to the sofa and make a low obeisance to the President and his lady, and repeat the ceremony of respect before taking their seats after the figure was concluded. The decorations of the assembly room were truly splendid and very tastefully disposed.

At that time there had been no more brilliant assemblage of ladies in America than were collected on this occasion. Few jewels were then worn in the United States, but in other respects their dresses were rich and beautiful, according to the fashions of the day. We are not quite sure that we can describe the full dress of a lady of rank at the period under consideration so as to render it intelligible. But we will make the attempt. One favorite dress was a plain celestial blue satin gown, with a white satin petticoat. On the neck was worn a very large Italian gauze handkerchief, with border stripes of satin. The head-dress was a *pouf* of gauze, in the form of a globe, the *creneaux* or head-piece of which was composed of white satin, having a double wing, in large plaits and trimmed with a wreath of artificial roses falling from the left at the top to the right at

the bottom in front, and the reverse behind. The hair was dressed all over in detached curls, four of which, in two ranks, fell on each side of the neck, and was relieved behind by a floating *chignon.*

Another beautiful dress was a perriot, made of gray Indian taffeta, with dark stripes of the same color, having two collars, the one yellow and the other white, both trimmed with a blue silk fringe, and a reverse trimmed in the same manner. Under the perriot they wore a yellow corset or boddice, with large cross stripes of blue. Some of the ladies with this dress wore hats *a l'Espagnole* of white satin, with a band of the same material placed on the crown, like the wreath of flowers on the head-dress above-mentioned. This hat, which, with a plume, was a very popular article of dress, was relieved on the left side, having two handsome cockades, one of which was at the top and the other at the bottom. On the neck was worn a very large plain gauze handkerchief, the ends of which were hid under the boddice, after the manner represented in Trumbull's and Stuart's portraits of Lady Washington. Round the bosom of the perriot a frill of gauze, *a la Henri IV*, was attached, cut in points around the edge.

There was still another dress which was thought to be very simple and pretty. It consisted of a perriot and petticoat, both composed of the same description of gray striped silk, and trimmed round with gauze, cut in points at the edges in the manner of *herrisons.* The herrisons were indeed nearly the sole trimmings used for the perriots, caracos, and petticoats of fashionable ladies, made either of ribands or Italian gauze. With this dress they wore large gauze handkerchiefs upon their neck, with four satin stripes around the border, two of which were narrow and the others broad. The head-dress was a plain gauze cap, after the form of the elders and ancients of a nunnery. The shoes were celestial blue with rose-colored rosettes.

Such are descriptions of some of the principal costumes of the ladies who graced the inauguration ball of Washington, and although varied in divers unimportant particulars, by the several ladies, according to their respective tastes and fancies, yet, as with the peculiar fashions of all other times, there was a general correspondence of the outlines, the *tout ensemble* was the same.

The President and his lady were introduced and conducted through the saloon to the seat provided for them by Colonel Humphries, a man of fine accomplishments and manners. General Knox had just been appointed Secretary of War, and his lady had been charged with so far resembling Cæsar, as to have been somewhat 'ambitious.' Be that as it may, it was said in those days that she so arranged her own movements as to enter the saloon with the President and his lady, following them to their station and ascending the steps, with the evident design of obtaining an invitation from the President to a seat upon the honored

sofa. Unluckily, however, the seat was too narrow for the accommodation of three persons, and the lady of the war minister, with deep and apparent mortification, was compelled to descend to the level of those who had shown themselves to be less openly aspiring. No other incident worthy of especial note occurred during the evening, or none which attracted particular attention.

Among the gayest and most courteous of the cavaliers present was the Baron Steuben. Well educated and bred in a German court, having also mingled much in the splendid court circles of Louis XV, in Paris, where he had usually passed his winters previous to his emigration to America, the manners of this gallant officer were formed upon the best model of graceful ease, affability, and dignity. He was thus, perhaps, as well qualified to teach the tactics of the drawing-room as those of the field. But, too much of the real gentleman to appear in the least degree assuming, he was a universal favorite. His dress was of rich black silk velvet, with the star of his order upon his breast, and he had ever some witty or playful remark for every person and every occasion, which was received with additional interest from his German accent and the little and often ludicrous mistakes to which he was liable from his imperfect knowledge of the English idioms.

The salutatory exercises were such as were usual in those times and on great occasions. There are a few of both sexes yet living who then mingled in the dance, but the incidents of the festive night linger in their memories like the fragments of a broken vision in times that are passed. They remember only that the exercise went on

> 'With smooth step
> Disclosing motion in its every charm,
> To swim along and swell the mazy dance,'

presenting to the eye, as in Milton's beautiful description of the dances of the angels—

> 'Mazes intricate,
> Eccentric, intervolved, yet regular
> Then most, when most irregular they seem.'

The illustrious chieftain himself did not hesitate to countenance the elegant amusement by participation, as the heroes and statesmen of antiquity, the demi-gods of the Greeks and Romans, had done before him. Mrs. Peter Van Brook Livingston and Mrs. Hamilton were successively honored by the chieftain's hand in a cotillion. He afterward danced a minuet with Miss Van Zandt, subsequently the lady of William Maxwell, Esq., vice-president of the Bank. There was dignity and grace in every movement of this incomparable man. But in the minuet, which is held to be the perfection of all dancing, he appeared to more than his wonted advantage. The minuet contains in itself a compound variety of as many

movements in the serpentine, which is the line of beauty, as can well be put together in distinct quantities, and is, withal, an exceedingly fine composition of movements. It is, therefore, the best of all descriptions of dancing to display the graces of person and attitude, and never did the majestic form of Washington appear to greater advantage than on the present occasion of elegant trifling. There was, moreover, youth and beauty in the countenance, grace in the step, and heaven in the eye of his fair partner.

Shortly after the brilliant spectacle which we have thus attempted but imperfectly to describe, the President was complimented by another similar *fete*, which he also honored by his presence, given by the French Minister. The pageant was one of uncommon elegance, both as it respected the character of the company and the plan of the entertainment. As a compliment to the alliance of the United States and France, there were two sets of cotillion dances in complete uniforms. The uniform of France was worn by one set, and that of the United States, the Revolutionary blue and buff, by the other. The ladies were dressed in white, with ribands, bouquets, and garlands of flowers, answering to the uniforms of the gentlemen. But it would be alike wearisome and unnecessary to enter into further particulars.

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The levees of President Washington were far more select and rational than are those of the same officer at the present day. They were numerously attended by all that was fashionable, elegant, and refined in in society, but there were no places for the intrusion of the rabble in crowds, or for the mere coarse and boisterous partisan, the vulgar electioneerer, or the impudent place-hunter, with boots, and frock coats, or roundabouts, or with patched knees and holes at both elbows. On the contrary, they were select and more courtly than have been given by any of his successors.

Proud of her husband's exalted fame and jealous of the honors due, not only to his own lofty character, but to the dignified station to which a grateful country had called him, Mrs. Washington was careful in her drawing-rooms to exact those courtesies to which she knew he was entitled, as well on account of personal merit as of official consideration. Fortunately, moreover, democratic rudeness had not then so far gained the ascendancy as to banish good manners, and the charms of social intercourse were heightened by a reasonable attention in the best circles to those forms and usages which indicate the well-bred assemblage, and fling around it an air of elegance and grace which the envious only affect to decry, and the innately vulgar only ridicule and contemn. None therefore, were admitted to the levees but those who had either a right by

official station to be there, or were entitled to the privilege by established merit and character, and full dress was required of all.*

Mrs. Washington was a pleasing and agreeable, rather than a splendid woman. Her figure was not commanding, but her manners were easy, conciliatory and attractive. Her domestic arrangements were always concerted under her own eye, and everything within her household moved forward with the regularity of machinery. No daughter of Eve ever worshipped her lord with more sincere and affectionate veneration; and none had ever cause to render greater or more deserved homage. When absent, he was ever in her thoughts, and her mild eyes kindled at his presence. She was well educated, and possessed strong native sense, guided by all necessary prudence and discretion. She rarely conversed upon political subjects, and when the most expert diplomatists would attempt to draw her out, she had the faculty of turning the course of conversation with equal dexterity and politeness. At all the President's entertainments, whether at the table or in the drawing-room, notwithstanding the regard to etiquette heretofore adverted to, there was nevertheless so much kindness of feeling displayed, and such an unaffected degree of genuine hospitality, that golden opinions were won alike from the foreign and domestic visitors.

In those days, late hours were not necessary to fashion; and many of our fair metropolitan readers, who are in the habit of dressing at ten to enter a distant drawing-room at eleven, will doubtless be surprised to learn that Mrs. Washington's levees closed always at nine! This was a rule which that distinguished lady established on the occasion of holding her first levee, on the evening of January 1, 1790. The President's residence was in the Franklin House, at the head of Cherry street. "The day," says a letter* of our venerable and estimable friend, John Pintard, Esq.—who was then in the heyday of youth and life, mingling with the fashionable world—"was uncommonly mild and pleasant. It was about full moon, and the air so bland and serene, that the ladies attended in their light summer shades. Introduced by the aids and gentlemen in waiting, after being seated, tea, coffee, plain and plum cake were handed round. Familiar and friendly conversation ensued, and kind inquiries, on the part of Mrs. Washington, after the families of the exiles, with whom she had been acquainted during the Revolutionary War, and who always received marked attention from General Washington

* Some show, if not of state, at least of respect for the high officer they were to visit, was exacted down to the close of Mr. Madison's administration. Mr. Monroe required less formality and attention to dress, and the second President Adams less still. But respect and reverence for the office still kept the multitude, who had no business there, from the President's drawing-rooms until the year 1829, when—but *tempora mutantur!*

* To Colonel Morris, of the *New York Mirror.*

Mrs. Washington stood by the side of the General in receiving the respects of the visitors. * * * * Amid the social chit-chat of the company, the Hall clock struck *nine.* Mrs. Washington thereupon rose with dignity, and, looking around the circle with a complacent smile, observed: 'The General always retires at nine, and I usually precede him.' At this hint the ladies instantly rose, adjusted their dresses, made their salutations, and retired."

General Washington had, on that day, been waited upon by the principal gentlemen of the city, according to the ancient New York custom of social and convivial visiting on that day. "After being severally introduced, and paying the usual compliments of the season," says Mr. Pintard, "the citizens mutually interchanged their kind greetings, and withdrew, highly gratified by the friendly notice of the President, to most of whom he was personally a stranger." In the course of the evening, while speaking of the occurrences of the day, Mrs. Washington remarked: "Of all the incidents of the day, none so pleased the General," by which title she always designated him, "as the friendly greetings of the gentlemen who visited him at noon." To the inquiry of the President, whether it was casual or customary, he was answered that it was an annual custom, derived from our Dutch forefathers, which had always been commemorated. After a short pause, he observed: "*The highly-favored situation of New York will, in the process of years, attract numerous emigrants, who will gradually change its ancient customs and manners; but, let whatever changes take place,* NEVER FORGET THE CORDIAL, CHEERFUL OBSERVANCE OF NEW YEAR'S DAY." The words made an indelible impression on the mind of the writer, and, at this distance of time, are here recorded, to preserve them, if possible, from total oblivion.

On the 12th day of May, 1789, about two weeks after General Washington had taken the oath of office, the oldest political organization in the city now in existence—the TAMMANY SOCIETY, or COLUMBIAN ORDER—was instituted. The year following (1790), a most interesting event in the history of this organization occurred, which, at the time, excited considerable interest among the citizens of New York. The United States had long been desirous of forming a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Creek Indians, and various unsuccessful attempts had been made to effect this object. At length, Colonel Marinus Willet went to that nation, and induced Alexander McGilvery, a half-breed, with about thirty of the principal chiefs, to come to this city. The Tammany Society determined to receive them with great ceremony. The members, at that day, were accustomed to dress in the Indian costume, and on this occasion they wore feathers, moccasins, leggings, painted their faces, and sported huge war-clubs and burnished tomahawks. When the Creeks entered the wigwam, they were so surprised to see such a number of their own race, that they set up a whoop of joy, which almost terrified the people present.

On the occasion of this interview, Governor George Clinton, Chief-Justice Jay, Mr. Duane (the Mayor), Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, and other distinguished men were present. The Creeks were overjoyed with their reception. They performed a dance, and sang the E-tho song. Mr. Smith, the Grand Sachem of the Society, made a speech to the Indians, in which he told them that although the hand of death was cold upon those two great Chiefs, Tammany and Columbus, their spirits were walking backward and forward in the wigwam. The Sagamore presented the Chiefs with the calumet, and one of them dubbed the Grand Sachem, "Tuliva Mico, or Chief of the White Town." In the evening they went to the theater, attended by the Sachems and members. Before they left the city, they entered into a treaty of friendship with "Washington, the Beloved Sachem of the Thirteen Fires," as they were pleased to call him.

In June of the same year, the Society established a museum for the purpose of collecting and preserving everything relating to the history of the country. A room was granted for its use in the City Hall, and Gardiner Baker was appointed to take charge of the collection. In 1794, it was removed to a brick building standing directly in the middle of the street, at the intersection of Broad and Pearl streets, called the Exchange. The lower part was used as a market but the upper part, being light and airy, was well calculated for displaying the many curiosities which now by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Baker had been collected. On the 25th of June, 1795, the Society passed a resolution relinquishing to Gardiner Baker all their right and title to the museum. He had taken so much pains and incured so much expense in getting it up, that he could, with good reason, make a claim upon it. It was therefore given up to him, upon condition that it should be forever known as the "Tammany Museum," in honor of its founders, and that each member of his family should have free access to it. This Museum, after the death of Baker, was sold to Mr. W. I. Waldron, and, after passing through various hands, formed the foundation of what was afterwards called the "American" or "Scudder's Museum," in Chatham street.*

The opening of the nineteenth century found New York vastly improved. As commerce and trade revived, it was found necessary to enlarge the grounds of the city and give it a more *presentable* appearance to the many foreigners who had already begun to flock thither for trade. The city now numbered twenty-three thousand souls exclusive of a floating population, large even for that early day. Reade and Duane streets were laid out and opened to the public in 1794. The waste grounds around the Collect were filled in and graded; a canal, following the present Canal street (whence the name), was cut through from the Collect to the North River with a view of draining the Lispenand

**History of the Tammany Society*, by R. G. Horton.

meadows; the beautiful lake was filled up and made firm ground; the grade of Broadway, from Duane to Canal street, was determined upon by the city authorities; the streets had received numbers; the United States Navy Yard, at Brooklyn, had been begun; the plan of the present modern city, with its parallel streets and broad avenues, had been adopted; Washington, Union, Madison, and Tompkins Squares, had been laid out; the great salt meadow on the eastern side of the city had been drained, and already, in imagination, divided into building-lots; and as the grand step in this march of improvement, New York received in 1790, her first sidewalks, which were laid on both sides of Broadway, from Vesey to Murray street. True, these sidewalks were only narrow pavements of brick, scarcely allowing two lean men to walk abreast or one fat man alone; still they were far preferable to walking in the middle of the streets on cobble-stones—especially if a person had corns. At this time, also, Nassau and Pine streets were what the upper part of Fifth avenue is now. Pearl (then Queen) street,* from Hanover square to John street, was the abode of wealth and fashion. Wall street, now given over to the sordid purpose of Mammon, was the gay promenade on bright afternoons, and there many a gallant's heart has been pierced by glances shot from beneath the frizzled locks of the fair sex; while the beaux with their powdered curls before, and their neat black silk bags behind the head, their laced ruffles and desperately square-toed shoes, were equally *comme il faut.* The City Hall stood at the foot of Nassau street. Just below it was the elegant mansion of Mr. Verplanck and immediately opposite, on the corner of Broad street, was the Watch-House; while further down, at the corner of New street, stood Becker's Tavern—then a place of great resort. In Nassau street resided the Jays, Waddingtons, Radcliffes, Brinckerhoffs, and other prominent families. Where the Merchants' Exchange now stands were the residences of Thomas Buchanan, Mrs. White, and W. C. Leffingwell; while in Pearl street were the fashionable dwellings of Samuel Denton, John Ellis, John J. Glover, John Mowatt, Robert Lennox, Thomas Cadle, John B. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor Broome, Andrew Ogden, Governor George Clinton, and Richard Varick. Near the location of the present City Hall was the Alms-House, with the bridewell on one side and the prison on the other, Grenzeback's grocery stood were French's Hotel now does. There were but three or four buildings on the block where Tammany Hall lately stood, one of which, nearly on the present site of the *Tribune* buildings, was a place of great resort for military men. The only remaining remnants of the neighborhood in that time are the wooden shanties, with their moss-covered roofs, which now disfigure Chatham street, opposite Centre.*

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* R. G. Horton's *History of the Tammany Society.*

One event, however, was to impede for a short time the progress which the city was making on the road to prosperity. This was the fire of 1804. About two o'clock on the night of the 18th of December, of that year, a serious fire commenced in a grocery store on Front street. The air was cold, and a high wind blowing and the engines late in their appearance, the devouring element extended with unexampled rapidity, destroying many valuable stores and dwellings, with their contents. The buildings from the west side of Coffee-House Slip, on Water street, to Governeur's Lane, and thence down to the East River, were swept away, and crossing Wall street, the houses upon the east side of the slip were also burned. Among them were the old Tontine Coffee-House, so celebrated in its way, with several brick stores. Most of the buildings being of wood, their destruction caused new and fire-proof brick edifices to be built in their places. About forty stores and dwellings were consumed—fifteen on Wall street, seventeen on Front, and eight in Water street. The value of the property destroyed amounted to one or two millions of dollars, and the fire was supposed to be the work of incendiaries, from anonymous letters sent to a merchant previous to the event. Five hundred dollars reward was offered by the Mayor for the apprehension of the incendiaries. This same region, thirty-one years afterward, was to witness the greatest conflagration which ever took place in this city.

The year 1804 was indeed a memorable date in the annals of the City. In that year the Historical Society was founded, with De Witt Clinton for its first vice-president; the present City Hall began to rise from its foundation; and the Public School Society was virtually determined upon. It was marked also by dark signs; for, besides bringing the dreadful fire, which we have already described, it brought the death of Hamilton—killed in a duel by Burr—"and the loss of his brilliant gifts and guiding intellect."

The year 1807 is also one yet more memorable, not only in the City's history, but in that of the United States and the globe. In that year was witnessed the successful introduction of steam navigation. "Who shall say what steam navigation has done to emancipate mankind from drudgery, and construct society upon the basis of liberty? It is science turned liberator; and the saucy philosophy of the eighteenth century became the mighty and merciful helper of the nineteenth century. To us, individually and generally, how marvelous has been the gift! Wherever that piston-rod rises and falls, and those paddles turn, man has a giant for his porter and defender. The liberty of the nation has been organized under its protection; and the great States of the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast are brought within one loyal affinity, and build their new liberties upon the good old pattern of our fathers. Clinton and Ful-

ton, the one identified with the rise of steam navigation, the other with the Erie Canal, are names that belong to universal history, as having given America its business unity, and brought its united wealth to bear upon the industry and commerce of the world." *

On the 7th of August, 1807, the first steam-boat, the *Clermont*, constructed and finished under the genius of Robert Fulton, encouraged by Chancellor Livingston, stood in the stream opposite Jersey City, ready at a signal to start on her way to Albany. Thousands of citizens lined both banks of the river, and filled every kind of available water-craft with the expectation of witnessing the utter failure of "Fulton's Folly"—as they had tauntingly christened the new boat—and of having the satisfaction of saying, "I told you so." But that sentence was never to be uttered; for, at the word from the inventor, the wheels began to revolve, slowly at first, then faster and faster, until "Fulton's Folly" vanished up the river, leaving the scoffers staring after it with blank visages and open mouths. The triumph was complete.

A year ago, in the summer of 1867, the writer chanced to be a passenger on board of the swift and fairy-like steamer, the *Chauncey Vibbard*, of the Albany Day-Line.* While passing Catskill the birth-place of Thurlow Weed, the latter, who was also a passenger, was reminded of an incident of his boyhood, connected with the first trip of the *Clermont*, which he related to the little circle gathered round him: "Sixty years ago, this very day," said Mr. Weed, "the first steam-boat passed up the Hudson from New York to Albany. The news spread like wild-fire, although there was then no telegraph, and the banks of the entire river were almost literally lined with people, to whom the first steam-boat was a much greater wonder than the *Great Eastern* to the present generation." To be on the bank, however, was not enough for Mr. Weed; so, stripping off his clothes and placing them on a rude raft improvised for the occasion, he swam out into the stream, pushing the raft before him; and from an island (now forming the main-land) he

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Dr. Osgood's *New York in the Nineteenth Century.*

* The *Chauncey Vibbard*—owned by J. McB. Davidson, Esq., of New York, and Alfred Van Santvoord, Esq., of Albany; superintended by the latter, and commanded by the genial and experienced seaman, Captain Hitchcock—is probably the fastest boat in existence. In the course of the trip mentioned in the text, the distance between West Point and Newburg—ten miles—was made in twenty minutes and a half, nearly thirty miles an hour. The speed of the boat on this occasion was timed by Mr. Weed, Mr. Erastus Brooks, of the *Express*, and Mr. Wilkes, of the *Spirit of the Times*. This time becomes the more remarkable when it is stated that at the time the steam-boat had five hundred and fifty passengers on board. The speed of Fulton's boat was about six miles an hour!

watched, in actual fear and trembling, the singular, and to him weird, spectacle—

"A peaceful bark o'er the waters sped,
As this monster form drew near;
From his perilous post the helmsman fled,
And the hailing captain bade with dread
From her demon-wake to steer.

* * * * * *

"From the fishermen's cabins the inmates burst,
And were moved in their panic to say,
That the ghosts of the Dutchmen had risen from dust
To smoke their great pipes with a terrible gust,
And hasten from Gotham away."*

But before New York City was to attain to its present high position it was destined to pass through another period of darkness and depression—the war of 1812—a period, moreover, which was to be rendered additionally trying by the crippling of its resources by the terrible conflagration of 1811. The Hon. G. P. Disosway, who, with a few others yet living, passed through this fiery ordeal, gives his personal reminiscences of this fire as follows:

THE FIRE OF 1811.

"An extensive fire broke out in Chatham street, near Duane, on Sunday morning, May 19, 1811, raging furiously several hours. A brisk north-east wind was blowing at the moment, and the flames spreading with great rapidity, for some time seemed to baffle all the exertions of the firemen and citizens. Between eighty and one hundred buildings, on both sides of Chatham street, were consumed in a few hours.

"We well remember that conflagration. The writer was then a Sabbath-School boy, and a teacher in a public school-room near by, at the corner of Tryon Row. The school was dismissed, and, as usual, proceeded to old John Street Church, thick showers of light burning shingles and cinders falling all over the streets. That was the day of shingle roofs. When the teachers and scholars, their number very large, reached the church the venerable Bishop McKendall occupied the pulpit, and seeing the immense clouds of dark smoke and living embers enveloping that section of the city, he advised the men 'to go to the fire and help in its extinguishment, and he would preach to the women and children. This advice was followed.

By this time the scene had become very exciting, impressive, and even fearful. We have not forgotten it, and never will. The wind had increased to a gale, and far and wide and high flew the blazing flakes in whirling eddies, throwing burning destruction wherever they lit or fell.

The lofty spires near by of the 'Brick Meeting,' St. Paul's, and 'St. George's Chapel,' enveloped in the rapidly passing embers, soon became the especial objects of watchfulness and anxiety. Thousands of uplifted eyes, and we doubt not prayers, were directed toward these holy tabernacles, now threatened with speedy destruction. And there was cause for fear. Near the ball at the top of the 'Brick Church a blazing spot was seen outside, and apparently not larger than a man's head.

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* Mrs. Sigourney's poem, entitled, "The First Steam-boat."

Instantly, a thrill of fear evidently ran through the bosoms of the thousands crowding the Park and the wide area of Chatham street. They feared the safety of an old and loved temple of the Lord, and they feared also, if the spire was once in flames, with the increasing gale, what would be the terrible consequence on the lower part of the city.

'What can we do?' was the universal question—'what in the world can be done?' was in everybody's mouth. The kindling spot could not be reached from the inside of the tall steeple, nor by ladders outside; neither could any fire-engine, however powerful, force the water to that lofty height. With the deepest anxiety, fear and trembling, all faces were turned in that direction. At this moment of alarm and dread, a sailor appeared on the roof of the church, and very soon was seen climbing up the steeple, hand over hand, by the lightning-rod!—yes, by the rusty, slender iron! Of course, the excitement now became most intense; and the perilous undertaking of the daring man was watched every moment, as he slowly, step by step, grasp after grasp, literally crawled upward, by means of his slim conductor. Many fears were expressed among the immense crowds, watching every inch of his ascent, for there was no resting-place for hands and feet, and he must hold on, or fall and perish; and should he succeed in reaching the burning spot, how could he possibly extinguish it, as water, neither by hose nor buckets, could be sent to his assistance? 'But where there is a will, there is a way,' says the old maxim, and it was at this fearful crisis he reached the kindling spot, and firmly grasping the lightning-rod in one hand, with the other he removed his tarpaulin hat from his head, and with it, literally, blow after blow, thick, strong, and unceasing, extinguished or beat out the fire! Shouts of joy and thanks greeted the noble fellow, as he slowly and safely descended to the earth again. The 'Old Brick' was thus preserved from the great conflagration of that Sunday morning. Our hero quickly disappeared in the crowd, and, it was said, immediately sailed abroad, with the favorable wind then blowing. A reward was offered for the person who performed this daring, generous act; but it is said that some imposter passed himself off for the real hero, and obtained the promised amount.

The cupola of the 'Old Jail,' which stood on the spot now occupied by the 'Hall of Records,' also took fire. This was extinguished through the exertions of a prisoner, 'on the limits.' This was the famous, generous institution, where unfortunate debtors formerly were confined and barred in with grated doors and iron bolts, deprived of liberty, and without tools, books, paper or pen, expected to pay their debts. It was a kind of 'Calcutta Black-Hole,' and the inmates having no yard-room, the prisoners frequented the top of the building for open-air exercise. Here they might be seen every hour of the day. Generally discovering fires in the city, they gave the first alarm, by ringing the 'Jail-Bell.' This became a sure signal of a conflagration, and on this occasion they saved the legal pest-house from quick destruction. The Corporation rewarded the debtor who fortunately extinguished the threatened cupola.

If the building had been destroyed and its inmates only saved, there would not have been much public regret, for it had been a sort of 'Calcutta Black-Hole' to American prisoners of war during the Revolution. After General Washington's success during 1777, in New Jersey, a portion of these poor prisoners were exchanged, but many of them, exhausted by their confinement, before reaching the vessels for embarkation home, fell dead in the streets. These are some of the historical reminiscences of the 'Old Debtor's Prison,' which so narrowly escaped burning in the great fire of May, 1811."

Scarcely had the citizens of New York recovered from the disheartening effects of this fire, when, on the 20th of June, 1812, the news was

received in the city, of President Madison's declaration of war against Great Britain, issued a few days previous. A meeting was immediately called at noon of the same day, in the Park, and at which the citizens pledged themselves to give the Government their undivided support.

This resolution, in view of the severe blow which it was perceived would at once be given by the war to the prosperity of New York, was no slight proof of patriotism; and many who at the beginning of the war were rich, found themselves, when the treaty of peace was signed on the 24th of December, 1814, ruined. The condition in which New York was at the close of the war, as well as the extravagant demonstration of joy with which the news of the termination of hostilities was received, is thus graphically described by the late Francis Wayland, who was an eye-witness of the scene:

"It so chanced that at the close of the last war with Great Britain I was temporarily a resident of the City of New York. The prospects of the nation were shrouded in gloom. We had been, for two or three years, at war with the mightiest nation on earth, and as she had now concluded a peace with the continent of Europe, we were obliged to cope with her single-handed. Our harbors were blockaded, communications coast-wise between our ports was cut off; our ships were rotting in every creek and cove where they could find a place of security; our immense annual products were mouldering in our warehouses. The sources of profitable labor were dried up; our currency was reduced to irredeemable paper; the extreme portions of our country were becoming hostile to each other; and differences of political opinion were embittering the peace of every household; the credit of the Government was exhausted; no one could predict when the contest would terminate, or discern the means by which it could much longer be protracted.

It happened that on a Sunday afternoon, in February, 1815, a ship was discerned in the offing, which was supposed to be a cartel, bringing home our Commissioners at Ghent, from their unsuccessful mission. The sun had set gloomily before any intelligence had reached the city. Expectation became painfully intense, as the hours of darkness drew on. At length, a boat reached the wharf, announcing the fact that a treaty of peace had been signed, and was waiting for nothing but the action of our Government to become a law. The men, on whose ears these words first fell, rushed in breathless haste into the city, to repeat them to their friends, shouting as they ran through the streets, 'Peace! Peace! PEACE!' Every one who heard the sound repeated it. From house to house, from street to street, the news spread with electric rapidity. The whole city was in commotion. Men bearing lighted torches, were flying to and fro, shouting like madmen, 'Peace! PEACE!' When the rapture had partially subsided, one idea occupied every mind. But few men slept that night. In groops they were gathered in the

streets, and by the fireside, beguiling the hours of midnight by reminding each other that the agony of war was over, and that a worn-out and distracted country was about to enter again upon its wonted career of prosperity."

In 1818, the Legislature of New York—De Witt Clinton, Governor—ordered the remains of General Montgomery to be removed from Canada to New York. This was in accordance with the wishes of the Continental Congress, which, in 1776, had voted the beautiful cenotaph to his memory that now stands in the front wall of St. Paul's Church, in Broadway. When the funeral cortege reached Whitehall, N. Y., the fleet stationed there received them with appropriate honors; and on the 4th of July they arrived in Albany. After lying in state in that city over Sunday, the remains were taken to New York, and on Wednesday deposited, with military honors, in their final resting-place at St. Paul's. Governor Clinton, with the delicacy for which he was always remarkable, had informed Mrs. Montgomery when the steamer *Richmond*, with the body of her husband, would pass her mansion on the North River. At her own request, she stood alone on the portico at the moment that the boat passed. It was now almost forty years since she had parted from her husband, and they had then been married only two years; yet she had remained as faithful to the memory of her "soldier," as she always called him, as if alive. The steam-boat halted before the mansion; the band played the "Dead March;" a salute was fired; and the ashes of the venerated hero and the departed husband passed on. The attendants of the Spartan widow now appeared, but, overcome by the tender emotions of the moment, she had swooned and fallen to the floor.*

In the successive years of its existence, the City of New York had been visited by war, and fire, and famine, and now the scourge of pestilence was to be added. In 1819, the city was visited by yellow-fever, which

* Janet Livingston, the sister of the distinguished Chancellor Livingston, the wife of General Richard Montgomery, met the latter when he was a Captain in the British Army and on the way to a distant frontier post. The meeting left mutual tender impressions. Returning to England soon after, Montgomery disposed of his commission, and, emigrating to New York, married the object of his attachment. But their visions of anticipated happiness upon a farm at Rhinebeck were soon ended. He was called upon to serve as one of the eight brigadier-generals in the Continental Army. He accepted sadly, declaring that "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." His excellent wife made no opposition, and, accompanying him as far as Saratoga, received his last assurance: "You shall never have cause to blush for your Montgomery." Nor did she; for he fell bravely at Quebec. Having reduced St. Johns, Chambly, and Montreal, he effected a junction with Arnold before the walls of Quebec, where he was shot through both his thighs and head, while leading his men, on the 31st of December, 1775. In person, General Montgomery was tall, graceful, and of manly address. At the time of his death, he was only thirty-nine years of age.

shortly disappeared, only, however, to return with increased violence in the fall of 1822. "As to the fever," writes Colonel W. L. Stone, at that time editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, under date of October 10th, 1822, to a friend, "I cannot say that it is any better. In the contrary it rages sadly, and grows worse every hour. There are many sick and dying, especially in the lower parts of the city, who would not move, and the physicians will not visit them. I know several who have died without a physician. Old Mr. Taylor, for instance (Soap and Candles, Maiden Lane), would not move, and is now in his grave." Even the cold weather of 1822 and 1823 failed to check it, and the succeeding summer its ravages became so frightful, that all who could, fled the city. Business was entirely suspended, and the place presented the appearance literally of a deserted city—with no sounds except the rumbling of the hearses as, at the dead of night, they passed through the streets to collect the tribute of the grave. By the 2d of November, however, the fever had disappeared; the inhabitants again returned to their homes; the banks and Custom-House which had been removed, during the fever, to Greenwich Village on the outskirts of the town, moved back to their customary places; and business and social intercourse once more flowed in their accustomed channels.

The two following years were to witness two august celebrations in New York. The first was in 1824, on the occasion of the visit of General Lafayette to America in his eighty-sixth year; and the second was in honor of the completion of the Erie Canal, by which the waters of Lake Erie were connected with those of the Atlantic.

It was most fitting that the city which had so nobly supported the enterprise from the beginning, should take the chief part in the ceremonies attending its realization. Probably no project of internal improvement ever met with such bitter and malignant opposition as that of the Erie Canal, and great as was the assistance given to the canal project by the Act of the New York Legislature of April, 1811, the obstacles in the way of its successful completion were by no means removed. The same incredulity as to the practicability of the canal, and the same apprehensions as to the capacity of the State, continued to raise a fierce opposition in the Legislature against any appropriations for carrying out the work which it had itself authorized. Many attempts were accordingly made to arrest, or at least curtail and arrest the project; and often during the progress of the undertaking it seemed as if it would be utterly abandoned. Party spirit at that time ran high, and the greatest effort on the part of its supporters was required to persuade the people of the State to give it their support at the polls. In accomplishing this result, the *Commercial Advertiser*, the oldest paper of New York City, gave powerful aid. That paper, which had always been the organ of the Federalists, became, upon Mr. Stone's assuming its management in 1820, a staunch advocate

of the Clintonians. A strong personal friendship for Mr. Clinton on the part of its editor, together with a firm conviction of the necessity for a canal through the interior of New York State, led to the position thus assumed. The trials and rebuffs experienced by Governor Clinton and his supporters in pushing the canal project, and the energy which fought it through to a triumphant end, are matters of history. The Erie Canal was completed in the fall of 1825. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th of October of the same year, the first canal-boat, the *Seneca Chief*, left Buffalo, having on board Governor Clinton, Joshua Foreman, and Colonel Stone, and the booming of cannon, placed at intervals of a few miles along the entire line of the canal from Buffalo to Albany, and thence along the banks of the Hudson to Sandy Hook, announced the successful termination of the enterprise. In New York City, especially, this event was celebrated by extraordinary civic and military ceremonies, and the citizens gave themselves up to the wildest demonstrations of joy. Nor was this joy ill-timed or excessive. "For a single State to achieve such a victory, not only over the doubts and fears of the wary, but over the obstacles of nature, causing miles of massive rocks at the mountain ridge yield to its power, turning the tide of error as well as that of the Tonnewanda, piling up the waters of the mighty Niagara as well as those of the beautiful Hudson, in short, causing a navigable river to flow with gentle current down the steepy mount of Lockport, to leap the river of Genesee, to encircle the brow of Irondequoit as with the laurel's wreath, to march through the rich fields of Palmyra and of Lyons, to wend its way through the quicksands of the morass at the Cayuga, to pass unheeded the delicious licks at Onondaga, to smile through Oneida's verdant landscape, to hang upon the arm of the ancient Mohawk, and with her, after gaily stepping down the cadence of the Little Falls and the Cohoes, to rush to the embrace of the sparkling Hudson, and all in the space of eight short years, was the work of which the oldest and richest nations of Christendom might be proud."* Colonel Stone, as one of the most zealous champions of the canal, was appointed to write the NARRATIVE OF THE CELEBRATION, receiving a silver medal and box from the Common Council of New York City, together with the thanks of that body.†

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* Stone's *Narrative.*

† Mr. Stone's narrative of the celebration was published by the Common Council under the title of the GRAND ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION, accompanied by a memoir of the great work by Cadwallader D. Colden:

In connection with the Erie Canal and its influence in building up the interior towns of this State, Mr. Stone was wont to relate the following anecdote: In 1820 he visited Syracuse with Joshua Foreman, the founder of that city and one of the earliest and most zealous friends of the Erie Canal. "I lodged for the night," says Mr. Stone, "at a miserable tavern, thronged by a company of salt-boilers fr m

The land procession in the city on this occasion, while being very fine, was modeled after the procession in honor of the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788,* and does not present any very striking features. The naval procession, however, was so unique, and withal was projected and carried out on such a magnificent scale, that we quote the description from Stone's *Narrative*, a work that is now exceedingly rare and difficult to obtain:

"At half-past eight o'clock, the Corporation and their invited guests assembled in the Sessions Room at the City Hall, and at a quarter before nine proceeded to the steam-boats *Washington*, *Fulton*, and *Providence*, stationed at the foot of Whitehall street. At the same place was also stationed the *Commerce*, Captain Seymour, with the elegant safety-barge, *Lady Clinton*. This barge, with the *Lady Van Rensselaer*, had been set apart by the Corporation for the reception of the invited ladies, with their attendants. The *Lady Clinton* was decorated with a degree of taste and elegance which was equally delightful and surprising. From stem to stern she was ornamented with evergreens hung in festoons and intertwined with roses of various hues, China astres, and many other flowers alike beautiful. In one of the niches below the upper deck was the bust of Clinton, the brow being encircled with a wreath of laurel and roses. Mrs. Clinton, as well as many other distinguished ladies, was on board of the barge, which, though the party was select, was much crowded. Capt. Seymour, however, paid every attention to his beautiful charge; every countenance beamed with satisfaction and every eye sparkled with delight.

A few minutes after nine o'clock, the whole being on board, the fleet from Albany, as before mentioned, led by the flag-ship of the Admiral, came round from the North and proceeded up the East River to the Navy Yard, where salutes were fired, and the sloop of war *Cyane*, was dressed in the colors of all nations. While here the flag-ship took on board the officers of that station, together with their fine band of music. The officers stationed at West Point, with the celebrated band from that place, having been received on board on the preceding evening, were like-

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Salina, forming a group of about as rough-looking specimens of humanity as I had ever seen. Their wild visages, beards thick and long, and matted hair, even now rise up in dark, distant, and picturesque effect before me. It was in October, and a flurry of snow during the night had rendered the morning aspect of the country more dreary than the evening before. The few houses, standing upon low and marshy ground, and surrounded by trees and tangled thickets, presented a very uninviting scene. 'Mr. Foreman,' said I, '*do you call this a village?* It would make an owl weep to fly over it.' 'Never mind,' said he in reply, '*you will live to see it a city yet!*'" Mr. Stone, did, indeed, live to see it a city, when he wrote the above in 1840, with a Mayor and Aldermen, and a population of more than twelve thousand

* See page 165.

wise on board of the *Chancellor Livingston*. On returning from the Navy Yard, the steam-boat *Ousatonic*, of Derby, joined the fleet. The wharves and shores of Brooklyn, the Heights, and the roofs of many of the buildings, were crowded with people to an extent little anticipated, and only exceeded by the thick masses of population which lined the shores of New York, as far as Corlær's Hook. The fleet having arrived between the east end of the Battery and Governor's Island, was joined by the ship *Hamlet*, before mentioned. While the commander was signaling the various vessels, and they were maneuvering about to take their stations, the spectacle was beautiful beyond measure. Long before this time, however, our city had been pouring forth its thousands and tens of thousands; Castle Garden, the Battery, and every avenue to the water, were thronged to a degree altogether beyond precedent. The ships and vessels in the harbor were filled, even to their rigging and tops. And the movements in forming the order of the aquatic procession, gave opportunity to all to observe the several vessels in every advantageous and imposing situation. Loud cheers resounded from every direction, which were often returned. Everything being in readiness, and every boat crowded to the utmost, the fleet taking a semi-circular sweep toward Jersey City, and back obliquely in the direction of the lower point of Governor's Island, proceeded down the bay in the order detailed in the official report of the Admiral, each boat and ship maintaining the distance of one hundred feet apart.

The ship *Hamlet* was taken in tow by the *Oliver Ellsworth* and *Bolivar*, and assumed and maintained its place in splendid style. Four pilot-boats were also towed by other steam-boats, together with the following boats of the Whitehall Watermen, all tastefully decorated, viz.: *The Lady of the Lake*, *Dispatch*, *Express*, *Brandywine*, *Sylph*, *Active*, and *Whitehall, Junior*.

The sea was tranquil and smooth as the summer lake; and the mist which came on between seven and eight in the morning having partially floated away, the sun shone bright and beautiful as ever. As the boats passed the Battery they were saluted by the military, the revenue cutter, and the castle on Governor's Island; ond on passing the Narrows, they were also saluted by Forts Lafayette and Tompkins. They then proceeded to the United States schooner *Porpoise*, Captain Zantzinger, moored within Sandy Hook, at the point where the grand ceremony was to be performed. A deputation, composed of Aldermen King and Taylor, was then sent on board the steam-boat *Chancellor Livingston*, to accompany his Excellency, the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the several committees from Buffalo, Utica, Albany, and other places, on board the steam-boat *Washington*.

The boats were thereupon formed in a circle around the schooner preparatory to the ceremony; when Mr. Rhind, addressing the Governor,

remarked 'that he had a request to make which he was confident it would afford his Excellency great pleasure to grant. He was desirous of preserving a portion of the water used on this memorable occasion, in order to send it to our distinguished friend and late illustrious visitor, Major-General Lafayette; and for that purpose Messrs. Dummer & Co. had prepared some bottles of American fabric for the occasion, and they were to be conveyed to the General in a box made by Mr. D. Phyfe from a log of cedar brought from Erie in the *Seneca Chief*.' The Governor replied that a more pleasing task could not have been imposed upon him, and expressed his acknowledgments to Mr. Rhind for having suggested the measure.

His Excellency, Governor Clinton, then proceeded to perform the ceremony of commingling the waters of the Lakes with the Ocean, by pouring a keg of that of Lake Erie into the Atlantic; upon which he delivered the following address:

'This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication, which has been accomplished between our Mediterranean Seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years, to the extent of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit, and energy of the people of the State of New York; and may the God of the Heavens and the Earth smile most propitiously on this work, and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race.'

Doctor Mitchill, whose extensive correspondence with almost every part of the world enables him to fill his cabinet with everything rare and curious, then completed the ceremony by pouring into the briny deep bottles of water from the Ganges and Indus of Asia; the Nile and the Gambia of Africa; the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine, and the Danube, of Europe; the Mississippi and Columbia of North, and the Oronoko, La Plata, and Amazon, of South America. The learned doctor availed himself of this occasion to deliver the peculiar and interesting address which will be found in this collection, and which so happily illustrates the uses of types and symbols. The Honorable Cadwallader D. Colden then presented to the Mayor the able Memoir upon the subject of Canals and Inland Navigation in general, which forms the first part of the present volume.

Never before was there such a fleet collected, and so superbly decorated; and it is very possible that a display so grand, so beautiful, and we may even add, sublime, will never be witnessed again. We know of nothing with which it can be compared. The naval *fete* given by the Prince Regent of England, upon the Thames, during the visit of the Allied Sovereigns of Europe to London, after the dethronement of Napoleon, has been spoken of as exceeding everything of the kind hitherto witnessed in Europe. But gentlemen who had an opportunity of wit-

nessing both, have declared that the spectacle in the waters of New York so far transcended that in the metropolis of England, as scarcely to admit of a comparison. The day, as we have before remarked, was uncommonly fine. No winds agitated the surface of the mighty deep, and during the performance of the ceremonies, the boats with their gay decorations, lay motionless in beauty. The orb of day darted his genial rays upon the bosom of the waters, where they played as tranquilly as upon the natural mirror of a secluded lake. Indeed the elements seemed to repose, as if to gaze upon each other, and participate in the beauty and grandeur of the sublime spectacle. Every object appeared to pause as if to invite reflection and prepare the mind for deep impressions—impressions which, while we feel them stealing upon the soul, impart a consciousness of their durability. It was one of those few bright visions whose evanescent glory is allowed to light up the path of human life—which, as they are passing, we feel can never return, and which, in diffusing a sensation of pleasing melancholy, consecrates, as it were, all surrounding objects, even to the atmosphere we inhale!

While the fleet was here at anchor, a deputation from the members of the Assembly from different parts of the State, who were on board one of the steam-boats as guests of the Corporation, preceded by Clarkson Crolius, Esq., their Speaker, paid a visit to the *Seneca Chief*, to reciprocate congratulations with the Buffalo committee on the completion of the Grand Canal, to which the Legislature, of whom they were members, had made the last and finishing appropriation.

Every thing being made ready for returning to the city, salutes were fired from the revenue cutter, the pilot-boats, several of the steam-boats, and from the "Young Lion of the West," who having prepared himself with a pair of brazen lungs at Rochester, often mingled his roar with that of the artillery with which he was saluted on his passage down. While passing up the Narrows the passengers on board of the different boats partook of elegant collations. The Corporation, with their guests, dined on board of the *Washington*, the Mayor presiding, assisted by Aldermen King and Taylor.

When approaching the British armed vessels before mentioned, the latter fired another salute. In consequence of this compliment, a signal was immediately made from the flag-ship, and the whole squadron passed round them in a circle. The United States schooner *Porpoise* manned her yards and gave the Britons three cheers, which were returned. While performing this circular maneuver, the British bands struck up 'Yankee Doodle;' in return for which act of courtesy the American bands as they passed the other side, successively played 'God save the King.' Another circumstance connected with these demonstrations of good feeling must not be omitted: On board of the *Swallow* an elegant breakfast was given in honor of the occasion, by her commander, Lieutenant

Baldock, to a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen, on which occasion was tastefully displayed a series of elegant and appropriate drawings, in water colors, representing Britannia, Columbia, the Eagle the Lion, and an English and American Sailor, Neptune, Liberty, and the flags and shields of both nations, all classically arranged, denoting good feeling, fellowship, and union of sentiment. There were also round one of the devices for a tower two designs of canal basins, with double locks —one as coming through Welch mountains, the other as through American mountains of granite; and on their basements were conspicuously inscribed, 'CLINTON,' and 'BRIDGEWATER,' in honor of men whose pursuits in each country were so similar. The whole was designed by J. R. Smith, and executed by him and an assistant.

One reflection occurred to us when the fleet was below the Narrows, which, although it has no immediate relation to the time or the occasion, it may not be amiss to mention: When we viewed the number and tonnage of the steam-boats employed, and the countless multitude of passengers borne upon their spacious decks, we could not but reflect upon the facilities of defense which, by means of steam navigation, our city would possess in the event of hostilities with any maritime power, and an attempt upon our lives and property from this direction. There were out upon this occasion, besides other craft of magnitude, no less than twenty-nine steam-boats, each capable of carrying from twelve to twenty-four guns, and from one to five hundred men. And from the readiness with which this force assembled, and from the rapid multiplication of vessels of this description with the increase of business in our metropolis, there is no doubt that even at the present moment fifty boats, with ten thousand men and six or seven hundred guns, might be collected, prepared, and sent to repel an approaching naval armament, in one, or at most, two days. Neither winds nor tides could stay their progress, or control their movements. They could choose their own time, position, and points of attack; and tremendous must be the power that could successfully oppose and superhuman the skill that could baffle an expedition of this kind, directed by the hand of valor and sustained by the unconquerable spirit of freemen!

The head of the land procession, under Major-General Fleming, Marshal of the day, assisted by Colonels King and Jones, Major Low, and Mr. Van Winkle, had already arrived on the Battery, where it was designed the whole should pass in review before the Corporation and their guests, and the spectators on board of the other boats, which lay to near the shore, to afford an opportunity of witnessing the cars, and banners, and other decorations of the several societies, professions, and callings, who had turned out in the city in honor of the event commemorated. The *Washington* and *Chancellor Livingston* ran into the Pier No. 1, in the East River, and landed the Corporation and their friends, at the proper time

for them to fall into the rear of the procession. The fleet then dispersed, each vessel repairing to its own moorings.

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Thus passed a day so glorious to the State and city, and so deeply interesting to the countless thousands who were permitted to behold and mingle in its exhibitions. We have before said that all attempts at description must be utterly in vain. Others can comprehend the greatness of the occasion; the Grand Canal is completed, and the waters of Lake Erie have been borne upon its surface, and mingled with the ocean. But it is only those who were present, and beheld the brilliant scenes of the day, that can form any adequate idea of their grandeur, and of the joyous feelings which pervaded all ranks of the community. Never before has been presented to the sight a fleet so beautiful as that which then graced our waters. The numerous array of steam-boats and barges proudly breasting the billows and dashing on their way regardless of opposing winds and tides; the flags of all nations, and banners of every hue, streaming splendidly in the breeze; the dense columns of black smoke ever and anon sent up from the boats, now partially obscuring the view, and now spreading widely over the sky and softening down the glare of light and color; the roar of cannon from the various forts, accompanied by heavy volumes of white smoke, contrasting finely with the smoke from the steam-boats; the crowds of happy beings who thronged the decks, and the voice of whose joy was mingled with the sound of music, and not unfrequently drowned by the hissing of the steam; all these, and a thousand other circumstances, awakened an interest so intense, that 'the eye could not be satisfied with seeing nor the ear with hearing.' We rejoiced, and all who were there rejoiced; although as we looked upon the countless throng, we could not but remember the exclamation of Xerxes, and feel that 'an hundred years hence, not one of all that vast multitude will be alive.' The splendor of beauty and the triumph of art, serve to excite, to dazzle, and often to improve the condition and promote the welfare of mankind; but the 'fashion of this world passeth away;' beauty and art, with all their triumphs and splendors, endure but for a season; and earth itself, with all its lakes and oceans, is only as the small dust of the balance, in the sight of Him who dwells beyond the everlasting hills."

That this joy was *not* ill-timed and excessive, the steady increase of the productiveness of the State affords conclusive proof.

The following statistics have been kindly furnished me by my friend, the Hon. Nathaniel S. Benton, for many years an able Canal Auditor:

The amount of tolls in 1823 was $199,655.08; in 1866, $3,966,522.52; and the total amount of tolls, from 1823 to 1866 inclusive, $90,153,279.19. The amount of tons going to tide-water is given in the report only as far back as 1836. In 1836, the number of tons going to tide-water over the

Canal was only 419,125; in 1866, 2,523,664, and the total amount between these two years inclusive was 52,761,967. It also appears that in 1837 the estimated value of all property transported on the Canal was $47,720,879; in 1865, $186,114,718; and between these years inclusive, $3,439,407,522. The amount of tons that came to this city in 1857, without breaking bulk, was 381,390; in 1866, 1,633,172; and between those years, 11,775,396. This ratio of increase seems to be broken in upon only in one particular, viz., in the amount of tons—the product of the State itself—arriving at tide-water. In 1836, this was 364,901; and in 1865, 173,538. Here the previous rule is reversed, and instead of a gain there is a considerable falling off. This, however, is not to be attributed to a decrease in production, but in the fact that the channels by which produce is conveyed to the city are becoming more numerous each succeeding year. This is evident, if the amount brought down by the Champlain Canal for 1866 (561,053) be added, which gives a total of 734,591. And if to this could be added the amount of tons that now go by way of the Central and other rail-roads of the State, which otherwise would have gone by the Canal, the sum would be very greatly increased. Indeed, this element of transportation by rail must be taken into calculation in forming a correct estimate of the importance of the Canal. It will be seen by the figures given above, that, with the exception just mentioned, the Canal shows a steady increase in its tolls and tonnage, notwithstanding the vast amount of freight yearly diverted from it by the rail-roads, and by vessels which now convey considerable freight from Buffalo direct to Europe, which formerly was brought to this city for shipment abroad. And to this must also be added the large amount of trade which has been directed by various channels into the Western States.

Many who at the time regarded the supporters of the "Big Ditch" as enthusiastic and visionary, have lived to see their most sanguine predictions more than realized. These figures, also, refute the opinion which one of our greatest statesmen, whose zeal for internal improvements could not be questioned, was known to have expressed, that this enterprise had been undertaken a hundred years too soon, and that, until the lapse of another century, the strength of our population and our resources would be inadequate to such a work.

The report of the Auditor gives also the cost of the enlargement up to the close of 1866, viz., $33,080,613.80. The original cost was $7,143,789.86; the total cost, therefore, up to the present time, is $40,224,403.66.

Two years after the Erie Canal Celebration (in 1827), the Merchants) Exchange in Wall street, begun in 1825, was completed; and in the same year, Masonic Hall, opposite the New York Hospital, the Arcade in Maiden Lane, and other buildings of more or less interest, were also erected. It has been the fashion of late years to speak of the changes that have taken place in New York City as of recent date. This, how-

ever, is a mistake. *Modern* New York begins in reality, about the year 1820, at which time the "march of internal improvement" (so called) began to level the most interesting of our city landmarks. Indeed, as late as 1827, Exchange Place was Garden street, Beaver street was Exchange street, and Hanover street was unknown. Garden street, ending in what is now Hanover street, was connected with Exchange street, and Pearl street by Sloat Lane. This narrow lane was afterwards widened and extended through to Wall street, forming Hanover street. The triangular block, now bounded by Beaver, Pearl, and Hanover, was then bounded on the north by Exchange street, on the east by a private alley, connecting the east end of that street with Pearl at a point some fifty feet this side of the present junction, on the south by Pearl as now, and on the west by Sloat Lane. Beaver street was subsequently opened through on its present line, and the private alley was closed up and built upon.

In 1829, an old resident of New York, returning to the city, after an absence of several years, was so struck with the changes which had taken place, both in the people and in the buildings, that he gave them to the public in two very interesting letters.* The reminiscences contained in them are of great value, as tending to preserve that which otherwise must have fallen into oblivion. New York has, it is true, reached a proud mercantile position; but it must not be supposed that, on this account she has no traditions other than those associated with trade. To assume this would be as unjust as it is untrue. Many memories she has, both of a pleasant and a saddening nature. And while there are many, in this intensely practical age, who profess to sneer at everything in which they can "see no money," yet there are a few from whose hearts all sentiment has not been entirely crushed out. It is for the benefit of this latter class that we here reproduce a portion of the reminiscences just alluded to. The writer says:

"New York is full of old reminiscences. Some are consecrated by religious feeling, and some by their connection with the political destinies of our country. My father used to show me, when a boy, the spot on the North River, just above the present Barclay Street Ferry, where, Jonathan Edwards, when temporary pastor of Wall Street Church, used to walk backward and forward on the solitary pebbly shore, sounding the depths of his own conscience, and drawing 'sweet consolation' from the religion which he taught. Here he ruminated on the mysteries of eternal preordination and free-will, while fell upon his ear the murmurs of that ocean which is the symbol of eternity and power, and whose motions are controlled, like the events of our own lives, by the word and will of the Most High. Then likewise he showed me the little church, back to the

* Francis Herbert, in the *Talisman* for 1829—1830.

site of the present Methodist Chapel, in John street, where Whitfield, as my father expressed it, used to 'preach like a lion,' with a searching power that made the sinner quail, and shook and broke the infidel's stony heart. It was in Wall street that the apostolic Tennant lifted up his melodious voice, and sounded the silver trumpet of the Gospel.

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On the site of the present Custom House,* where the commerce of the world pays its tribute to the great treasury of the nation, stood the old City Hall, commanding a view of the wide and winding avenue of Broad street. Here, in a species of balcony, in the second story of the building, such as the Italians call a *loggia*, mean in its materials of wood and brick, but splendid in the taste and proportions given to it by the architect L'Enfant, the inauguration oath of the chief magistracy of the Union was administered, by Chancellor Livingston, to Washington, the first of our Presidents. In front of the building an innumerable and silent crowd of citizens, intently gazing on the august ceremony, thronged the spacious street in front, and filled Wall street from William street to Broadway. Behind the President elect stood a group of the illustrious fathers of the nation—Hamilton and Knox, and the elder Adams and the venerable and learned and eloquent Johnson, and Ellsworth and Sherman of Connecticut, and Clinton and Chief-Justice Morris and Duane of New York, and Boudinot of New Jersey, and Rutledge of South Carolina, and less conspicuous in person, though among the foremost in fame, the Virginian, Madison. There, too, stood the most revered of the clergy of New York—the venerable Dr. Rodgers, of the Presbyterian Church; the wise and mild and suasive Dr. Moore, of the Episcopal; the dignified and eloquent Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch; and the learned Dr. Kunze and the patriotic Dr. Grose, of the German churches. Back of these stood younger men, since scarcely less illustrious than the elder statesmen I have mentioned—Ames, and Cabot, and Gouverneur Morris, majestic and graceful in spite of his wooden leg. But why should I attempt to describe this great occasion by words? I lately looked over the portfolio of my friend Dunlap, and found, among many other fine things, sketches which present this scene vividly to the eye, with the features of the great men who figured in it, and their costumes and attitudes, such as he himself beheld them. I wish somebody would employ him to paint a noble picture, such as he is capable of producing, on this magnificent subject. The pride of a New Yorker, the feelings of a patriot, the ambition of an artist, and the recollections of this interesting ceremony, which still live in his memory, would stimulate him to do it ample justice.

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* Now (1868) Sub-Treasury.

Cedar street, since that day, has declined from its ancient consequence. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Jefferson in an old two-story house in that street, unbending himself in the society of the learned and polite from the labors of the bureau. And there was Talleyrand, whom I used to meet at the houses of General Hamilton and of Noah Webster, with his club-foot and passionless immoveable countenance, sarcastic and malicious even in his intercourse with children. He was disposed to amuse himself with gallantry, too; but who does not know?—or rather, who ever did know Talleyrand? About the same time I met with Priestley—grave and placid in his manners, with a slight difficulty of utterance—dry, polite, learned, and instructive in his conversation. At a period somewhat later, I saw here the deputy Billaud de Varennes, who had swayed the blood-thirsty mob of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, turned the torrent of the multitude into the hall of the Legislative Assembly, and reanimated France to a bolder and more vigorous resistance against her foreign enemies. I visited him in the garret of a poor tavern in the upper part of William street, where he lived in obscurity. But why particularize further? We have had savans, literateurs, and politicians by the score, all men of note, some good and some bad—and most of whom certainly thought that they attracted more attention than they did—Volney and Cobbett and Tom Moore, and the two Michaux, and the Abbe Correa, and Jeffrey, and others; the muster-roll of whose names I might call over, if I had the memory of Baron Trenck, and my readers the taste of a catalogue-making librarian. Have we not jostled ex-kings and ex-empresses and ex-nobles in Broadway; trod on the toes of exotic naturalists, Waterloo marshals, and great foreign academicians at the parties of young ladies; and seen more heroes and generals all over town than would fill a new Iliad?

Pensive memory turns to other worthies, no less illustrious in their way. There was Billy the Fiddler and his wife, whom no one having seen, could ever forget, and no one who had music in his soul, remember, without regretting that such a fiddle should ever have been hanged up. Billy had been a favorite of Mozart, at Vienna, and used to say that he had composed one (I forget which) of his six celebrated sonatas; though I believe he drew rather too long a bow when he made this statement. He was about four feet six inches in height, with a foot as long as a fourth of his stature. His head was not disproportionate, as those of dwarfs usually are; but he had their characteristic petulance; and the irritability of his temper was certainly not improved by the enforced attendance of a retinue of idle boys, who always formed his *suite* when he walked forth in the streets. His wife was a suitable companion for him as to personal appearance and height; and it seemed, on looking at the couple, to be not at all wonderful how the Germans came by their wild and droll concep-

tions of goblins and elves. But I never heard of any other magic practiced by Billy, except that the sweet and enlivening strains of his violin made the young masters and misses, at whose juvenile parties he officiated, dance off the soles of their shoes and stockings; and that they would have begun upon their tender skins, if they had not been discreetly carried home.

There was also the family of the Hewletts, which, from tradition or observation, I may say I know for four generations,—cotemporaries of the successive Vestrises. Indeed, according to the family record, the first Hewlett was a pupil of the first Vestris, and a favorite disciple of that great master; who only complained that he was not sufficiently *léger* in his accents, nor quite *de plomb* enough in his descents; but certified, that for grace, agility, and science, he was the prince of his *elèves*. The opinions of those, successively educated under the successive dynasties of these masters of aerial gymnastics, as fashion controlled both teachers and scholars, 'and as longer puffs and louder fiddles' brought other professors of the graces of motion forward, varied as to the distinctive characteristics of their several excellencies; still the Hewletts kept their ground. They out-lived the Revolution of Seventy-Six;—Trinity Church was pulled down—the Governor's Court fled from the Battery; but they kept the field, like the trumpeters of chivalry. They taught dancing to the belles, who captivated the Members of the first Congress; and tried to teach some of the Members themselves. Then came the *horrible* French Revolution; and in that terrible storm which overthrew the landmarks of the old world, new manners and new teachers were drifted on our shores, and the Hewletts went out of vogue. There must be few who have dwelt in this now all-be-metamorphosed city, even for six years last past, who have not had occasion to observe the dapper legs and silken hose of the last of this line. But they will be seen no more. David Hewlett is dead! and as he trod lightly upon the earth, may the earth lie lightly on him. He was a gentleman, every inch of him. He was the last of the anti-Revolutionary dancing-masters; a kind, good, humble man. At St. Paul's I always found him, repeating the service with a formality, which was the result of decorous habit, and a fervor which could only have come warm from the heart. Again I say, light be the earth above him! and he must have a stern, hard heart, who can scoff at my honest tribute to the memory of my old dancing-master.

My reminiscences of New York, or rather the people that have been in it, come before my mind in pretty much the same order that 'jewels and shells, sea-weed and straw,' are raked by 'old father Time from the ocean of the past,' according to Milton or Bacon, or some other ancient writer of eminence. I had an uncle, who was a prudent man, in all his transactions; and who, from patriotic considerations,

waited for the development of events, before he took any part in the Revolutionary War. He had many of what might be called Tory recollections of that period. He knew the Duke of Clarence, when he came here as a midshipman; skated with him on the Collect, where now stands the arsenal and the gas manufactory, and helped out of a hole in the ice him who is now official head of the English navy, and who may probably wield ere long the scepter of the British Empire. In walking along Broadway, he has often pointed out to me the small corner-room in the second story in the house in Wall street, opposite Grace Church, then and long after occupied by Dr. Tillary, a Scotchman (formerly a surgeon and afterward an eminent physician), and told me how he used, at the period referred to, to eat oysters there, in the American fashion, with his Royal Highness, who preferred them to the copper-flavored productions of the British Channel.

Pine street is now full of blocks of tall, massive buildings, which overshadow the narrow passage between, and make it one of the gloomiest streets in New York. The very bricks there look of a darker hue than in any other part of the city; the rays of the sun seem to come through a yellower and thicker atmosphere, and the shadows thrown there by moonlight seem of a blacker and more solid darkness than elsewhere. The sober occupations of the inhabitants also, who are learned members of the bar nearest Broadway, and calculating wholesale merchants as you approach the East River, inspire you with ideas of sedateness and gravity as you walk through it. It was not thus thirty or forty years ago. Shops were on each side of the way—low, cheerful-looking two-story buildings, of light-colored brick or wood, painted white or yellow, and which scarcely seemed a hindrance to the air and sunshine. Among these stood the shop of Auguste Louis de Singeron, celebrated for the neatness and quality of its confectionary and pastry, and for the singular manners of its keeper, who was at once the politest and most passionate of men. He was a French emigrant, a courtier and a warrior, a man of diminutive size, but of a most chivalrous, courteous, and undaunted spirit. He might be about five feet two inches in height; his broad shoulders overshadowed a pair of legs under the common size, his fiery red hair was tied into a club behind, and combed fiercely up in front; the upper part of his cheek-bones, the tip of his nose, and the peak of his chin, were tinged with a bright scarlet; his voice was an exaggeration of the usual sharp tones of his nation, and his walk was that of a man who walks for a wager. He was the younger son of a noble family; and having a commission in the French army, was one of the officers who defended the Tuillieries on the melancholy night of the 10th of August, 1792, when the palace streamed with blood, and the devoted adherents of the King were bayoneted in the corridors, or escaped only to be proscribed and hunted down like wolves. Auguste de

Singeron made his way to L'Orient, took passage to the United States, and landed at New York without a penny in his pocket. His whole inventory consisted of a cocked hat, a rusty suit of black, a cane, a small sword, a white pocket-handkerchief and shirts, if I am justified in speaking of them in the plural, the exact number of which cannot now be known, as he never chose to reveal it, but looked as if they had never been brought acquainted with the nymphs of the fountains. He at first betook himself to the usual expedient of teaching French for a livelihood; but it would not do. He lost all patience at correcting, for the twentieth time, the same blunder in the same pupil; he showed no mercy to an indelicate coupling of different genders; and fell upon a false tense with as much impetuosity as he had once rushed upon the battery of an enemy. But if he got into a passion suddenly, he got out of it as soon. His starts of irritation were succeeded by most vehement fits of politeness; he poured forth apologies with so much volubility, and so many bows, and pressed his explanation with so much earnestness and vigor, and such unintelligible precipitation, that his pupils became giddy with the noise, and at the end of his lesson were more perplexed than ever. In short, to apply the boast of a celebrated modern instructor, his disciples were so well satisfied with their progress, that they declined taking lessons a second quarter, and the poor Frenchman was obliged to think of some other way of getting a living. But what should it be? He had no capital and scarcely any friends. Should he become a barber, a shoe-black, a cook, a fencing-master, a dentist, or a dancing-master? Either of these occupations was better than to beg, to starve, or to steal, and the French nobility have figured in them all. The flexibility of the national character adapts itself in mature age to any situation in life with the same ease that people of other nations accommodate themselves to that in which they were born. French marquises have sweltered in the kitchens of English private gentlemen, in greasy caps and aprons—French counts have given the polish to the nether extremities of the stately Dons of Madrid—and French dukes have taken German ones by the nose. The graceful courtiers, who led down the dance the high-born dames of France, have exhausted themselves in the vain effort to teach Yorkshiremen to shuffle cotillions; the officers of his Most Christian Majesty's household have drawn teeth for cockneys; and the chevaliers of the Order of St. Louis have given lessons in the use of the broadsword to men who afterward figured as Yankee corporals. In the midst of his perplexity, a mere accident determined the future career of Monsieur de Singeron: He had politely undertaken to assist in the manufacture of some molasses-candy for a little boy, the son of his host; and, after a process attended with some vexations, during which the lad thought, two or three times, that his French acquaintance would swallow him alive, he produced the article in such delicious and melting perfection, that his

fame was quickly spread abroad among the boys of the neighborhood as an artist of incomparable merit. He took the hint, got his landlord to assist him with a small credit, turned pastry-cook and confectioner, set up at first in a small way, enlarged his business as he got customers, and finally took a handsome shop in the street I have mentioned. The French have as great a talent for comfits as for compliments; and the genius that shines in the invention of an agreeable flattery, displays itself to no less advantage in the manufacture of a sugar-plum. Auguste Louis de Singeron was no vulgar imitator of his clumsy English and Dutch brethren in the art. I speak not of the splendor of his crystallizations, of the brilliant frost-work of his plum-cakes, nor of the tempting arrangement he knew how to give to his whole stock of wares, though these were admirable. But the gilt ginger-bread I used to buy of him,—instead of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba,—was graced with the stately figures of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, the Queen standing bolt upright—as became the conqueror of hearts and the mistress of the finest kingdom in the world—and the monarch holding her hand with a delicate inclination of his royal body, as if acknowledging the empire of beauty. He, I believe, first introduced the practice of stamping the New Year's cake with figures of Cupids among roses, and hearts transfixed by an arrow in honor of *la belle passion*. His marchpane bore an impress of the *façade* of the Tuilleries, with its pilasters, columns, and curvings; and his *blanc-mange* was adorned with a bas-relief of warriors in bag-wigs and cocked hats, tilting fiercely at each other on its quivering and glancing surface.

I shall never forget the courtly and high-bred civility with which M. de Singeron used to welcome me to his shop, and bow me out of it. I have since seen the nobles of the court of Marie Antoinette, and was no longer at a loss to account for the graceful manners of my old friend, the confectioner. It was not, however, quite safe to presume too much upon his forbearance, for he knew no medium between the most violent irritation and the most florid politeness. He had no patience with these people who stood in his door on a keen windy day, and would neither come in nor go out. They always got from him a hearty curse in French, followed, as soon as he could recollect himself, by something civil in English. '*Peste soit de la bête*'—he used to say—'*fermez donc la*—I beg pardon, sare, but if you vill shut de door, you sall merit my eternel gratitude!' The fellows who went about the streets crying 'good oysters,' and 'fine Rockaway clams,' avoided his ill-omened door in the winter months, taught by bitter experience, and sundry ungracious and unexpected raps on the knuckles. He at first tried the plan of making them come in, shut the door, and deliver their errand, and then sending them about their business. This not succeeding, he tried the shining old lignum-vitæ cane, with which he used to promenade in the gardens of the Tuilleries, and with much better effect. On one occasion, however,

he happened to bestow it rather rudely upon the nasal organ of a sailor. The fellow's proboscis was originally of most unnatural and portentous dimensions; it swelled terribly from the effect of the blow; and, meeting with a pettifogger, who told him it was a good case for damages, he brought an action against the confectioner. Monsieur de Singeron in vain offered an apology and a plaster of bank-notes; the sailor was inexorable, and insisted on producing his injured member before the seat of justice. He did so, but unluckily the effect on the jury was rather ludicrous than pathetic, and the impression it made was against the plaintiff, who got only ten shillings by his suit. M. de Singeron thought it was not enough, and gave the fellow a five-dollar note besides, which he had the meanness to accept, though I believe he blushed as he did it.

Monsieur de Singeron afterward sold cakes and confectionary in William street and then in Broadway, and finally was one of that joyful troop of returning exiles that flocked back to France on the restoration of the Bourbons. He was provided for by being made a Colonel of Cuirassiers, and in the decline of his life his gallant and courteous spirit was no longer obliged to struggle with the hardships and scorns of poverty. I have lately heard, though indirectly, so that I cannot vouch for the fact, that he has been promoted to be one of the Marshals of France.

There was another Frenchman of distinction, also of the old school of French manners, but less fortunate than Monsieur de Singeron, and who used daily to take his solitary walk through Broadway. I allude to Admiral Pierre de Landais, a cadet of the family of a younger son of the youngest branch of one of the oldest, proudest, and poorest families in Normandy. He had regularly studied in the *Ecole de la marine*, and was thoroughly instructed in the mathematical theories of sailing and building a ship, although, like the rest of his countrymen, he always found some unexpected difficulty in applying his theory to practice. For a Frenchman, however, he was a good sailor; but in consequence of his grandfather having exhausted his patrimony in a splendid exhibition of fire-works for the entertainment of Madame de Pompadour, he had neither interest at court nor money to purchase court favor. He was therefore kept in the situation of an *aspirant* or midshipman, until he was thirty-two years old, and was kept, I know not how many years more, in the humble rank of *sous lieutenant*. He served his country faithfully, and with great good will, until in the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI, a page of the mistress of the Count de Vergennes came down to Cherbourg to be his captain. While he was boiling with indignation at this affront, the war between England and America broke out, and he seized that opportunity to enter the service of the United States. There he at once rose to the command of a fine frigate, and the title of Admiral. Soon afterward came the brilliant affair of the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*, in

which Paul Jones, by his impetuous and undisciplined gallantry, earned the reputation of a hero, and poor Landais, by a too scrupulous attention to the theory of naval science, incurred that of a coward. I believe that naval authority is against me; but I venture to assert, *meo periculo*, and on the authority of one of my uncles, who was in that action as a lieutenant to Paul Jones, that Landais erred, not through any defect of bravery, but merely from his desire to approach his enemy scientifically, by bearing down upon the hypothenuse of the precise right-angled triangle prescribed in the thirty-seventh '*manœuvre*' of his old text-book.

The naval committee of Congress unfortunately understood neither mathematics nor French; they could not comprehend Landais' explanations, and he was thrown out of service. After his disgrace he constantly resided in the City of New York, except that he always made a biennial visit to the seat of government, whether at Philadelphia or at Washington, to present a memorial respecting the injustice done him, and to claim restitution to his rank and the arrears of his pay. An unexpected dividend of prize-money, earned at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and paid in 1790, gave him an annuity of one hundred and four dollars—or rather, as I think, a hundred and five—for I remember his telling me that he had two dollars a week on which to subsist, and an odd dollar for charity at the end of the year.

Although Congress, under the new Constitution, continued as obdurate and as impenetrable to explanation as they were in the time of the confederation, the Admiral kept up to the last the habits and exterior of a gentleman. His linen, though not very fine, nor probably very whole, was always clean; his coat threadbare, but scrupulously brushed, and for occasions of ceremonious visiting, he had a pair of paste knee-buckles and faded yellow silk stockings with red clocks. He wore the American cockade to the last, and on the Fourth of July, the day of St. Louis, and the anniversary of the day on which the British troops evacuated the City of New York, he periodically mounted his old Continental Navy uniform, although its big brass buttons had lost their splendor, and the skirts of the coat, which wrapped his shrunken person like a cloak, touched his heels in walking, while the sleeves, by some contradictory process, had receded several inches from the wrists. He subsisted with the utmost independence on his scanty income, refusing all presents, even the most trifling; and when my naval uncle on one occasion sent him a dozen of Newark cider, as a small mark of his recollection of certain hospitalities at the Admiral's table when in command, while he himself was but a poor Lieutenant, Landais peremptorily refused them, as a present which he could not receive, because it was not in his power to reciprocate.

He was a man of the most punctilious and chivalric honor, and at the same time full of that instinctive kindness of heart and that nice

sense of propriety, which shrinks from doing a rude thing to anybody on any occasion. Even when he met his bitterest enemy, as he did shortly after he came to New York, the man whose accusation had destroyed his reputation and blighted his prospects, whose injuries he had for years brooded over, and whom he had determined to insult and punish whenever he fell in with him, he could not bring himself to offer him an insult unbecoming a gentleman, but deliberately spitting on the pavement, desired his adversary to consider that pavement as his own face, and to proceed accordingly.

Thus, in proud, solitary, and honorable poverty, lived Pierre de Landais for some forty years, until, to use the language of his own epitaph, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, he 'disappeared' from life. As he left no property behind him, and had no relations and scarcely any acquaintances in the country, it has always been a matter of mystery to me who erected his monument—a plain white marble slab, which stands in the church-yard of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, and on which is read the following characteristic inscription:

A LA MEMOIRE
de
PIERRE DE LANDAIS,
ANCIEN CONTRE-AMIRAL,
au service
DES ETATS-UNIS.
Qui Disparut
Juin 1818,
Age 87 ans.

Who would suppose that the exploded science of alchemy had ever its professors in the United States, where the easy transmutation of the soil of the wilderness into rich possessions, renders unnecessary the art of converting dross into gold? Yet such is the fact. Everybody who has been a frequent walker of Broadway, in any or all of the forty years preceding the last five, must recollect often meeting a man whom at first he might not have particularly noticed, but whose constant appearance in the same part of the street at the same hour of the day, and the peculiarities of whose dress and person must at length have compelled attention. He was a plump-looking man, somewhat under the middle size, with well-spread shoulders, a large chest, a fair, fresh complexion, a clear but dreamy eye, and a short, quick stride, and had altogether the signs of that fullness of habit which arises from regular exercise and a good appetite, while a certain ascetic expression of countenance, at once forbade the idea that it owed anything to festivity or good cheer. His

age, which never appeared to vary, might, from his looks, be estimated at five years on the one side or other of fifty. His dress was that of an old-fashioned respectable citizen, educated before the age of suspenders, pantaloons, and boots, and who had never been persuaded to countenance those innovations of modern effeminacy. Notwithstanding its obsolete cut, it showed no signs of poverty, except perhaps to those, and those only, who occasionally met him sweltering, with a laudable contempt for the weather, in a full suit of thick Prussian blue or Dutch black broadcloth in a hot August day; or striding through a snow-storm in nankeen breeches and white cotton stockings in December. His name was Jan Max-Lichenstein; he was a Pomeranian by birth, who early in life, going to Amsterdam to seek his fortune, became employed as a clerk in the great Dutch banking and commercial house of Hope & Co., where he proved himself a good accountant, and rendered himself useful in their German and Swedish correspondence.

Afterward, by some accident or other, he found himself an adventurer at St. Petersburg. What led him to that city, I cannot say; I have never heard it accounted for among his acquaintances in this city; at Amsterdam I forgot to inquire, and St. Petersburg I have never visited. But thither he went; and having the good fortune to become known to Prince Potemkin, received an employment in his household, and finally came to be intrusted with the management of his finances. The Prince, as everybody knows, like many others who have millions to dispose of, had constantly occasion for millions more; and, as everybody also ought to know who knows anything of his private history, when his funds were so reduced that he had nothing left but a few millions of acres and a few thousand serfs, took most furiously to gambling and alchemy. These liberal employments were divided between him and his treasurer; the Prince rattled the dice-box in the gilded saloons of Tzarzko Zelo, and the Pomeranian, in spite of his remonstrances and his own better judgment was set to compounding the alkahest, or universal menstruum, in the vaults under the north wing of Potemkin's winter palace. We soon get attached to the studies in which we are obliged to employ ourselves, and Lichenstein gradually found his incredulity yielding, and a strange interest stealing over him, as he read the books and sweltered and watched over the operations of alchemy. The result was, that at length he became a believer in the mysteries of imbibition, solution, ablution, sublimation, cohabation, calcination, ceration, and fixation, and all the martyrizations of metals, with the sublime influences of the Trine Circle of the Seven Spheres.

Lichenstein, however, with all his diligence and increase of faith, could neither coin gold nor get it out of the Prince's tenants in such quantities as it was wanted, and he was now destined to learn how much the favor of the great depends upon the state of their stomachs. One

morning Potemkin, after a run of bad luck, plenty of good champagne, a sleepless night, and an indigestible breakfast of raw turnips and quass, called upon him for an extraordinary sum, and not finding it easily furnished, flew into a passion and discharged him on the spot. As the Prince never paid any debts but those of honor, Lichenstein knew that it would be in vain to ask for his salary, and walked into the streets without a penny in his pocket. The late Chief-Justice Dana, of Massachusetts, then our Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg, was about to return to America. Lichenstein had heard the most flattering accounts of the prospects held out in the United States to active and intelligent adventurers from the Old World, and readily believed all he heard, which, for a believer in alchemy, was no great stretch of credulity. He had some little acquaintance with the American Minister, in consequence of once or twice negotiating for him small bills on the bankers of the United States at Amsterdam. He threw himself upon his generosity, and requested a passage to this country—a favor which was as readily granted. Here he was fortunate enough, almost immediately on his arrival, to be employed in the first mercantile house in New York, to answer their Dutch, German, and northern correspondence, with a salary which, though not half so large as that allowed by Prince Potemkin, he liked twice as well, because it was regularly paid. He had scarcely become well settled in New York, when his old dream of alchemy returned upon him. He carefully hoarded his earnings until he was enabled to purchase, at a cheap rate, a small tenement in Wall street, where he erected a furnace with a triple chimney, and renewed his search of the *arcanum magnum*. Every day, in the morning, he was occupied for two hours in the counting-room; then he was seen walking in Broadway; then he shut himself in his laboratory until the dusk of the evening, when he issued forth to resume his solitary walk.

Year after year passed in this manner. Wall street, in the meantime, was changing its inhabitants: its burghers gave way to banks and brokers; the city extended its limits, and the streets became thronged with increasing multitudes—circumstances of which the alchemist took no note, except that he could not help observing that he was obliged to take a longer walk than formerly to get into the country, and that the rows of lamps on each side of Broadway seemed to have lengthened wonderfully toward the north; but whether this was owing to the advance of old age, which made his walk more fatiguing, or to some other unknown cause, was a problem which I believe he never fully solved to his own satisfaction.

Still the secret of making gold seemed as distant as ever, until it presented itself to him in an unexpected shape. His lot in Wall street, which measured twenty-eight feet in front and eighty-seven in depth, and for which he had paid three hundred and fifty pounds New York currency, had become a desirable site for a newly chartered banking com-

pany. One day Lichenstein was called by the president of this company from his furnace, as he was pouring rectified water on the salt of Mercury. He felt somewhat crusty at the interruption, as he hoped by reverberating the ingredients in an athanor, to set the liquor of Mars in circulation; but when this person had opened to him his errand and offered him twenty-five thousand dollars for the purchase of his lot, his ill-humor was converted into surprise. Had he been offered five thousand, he would have accepted it immediately; but twenty-five thousand! the amount startled him. He took time to consider of the proposition, and the next morning was offered thirty thousand by a rival company. He must think of this also, and before night he sold to the first company for thirty-three thousand. He was now possessed of a competency; he quitted his old vocation of clerk, abandoned his old walk in Broadway, and like Admiral Landais 'disappeared,' but not, I believe, like him to another life. I have heard that his furnace has again been seen smoking behind a comfortable German stone house in the comfortable borough of Easton—a residence which he chose, not merely on account of its cheap ness of living nor its picturesque situation, but chiefly, I believe, for its neighborhood to Bethlehem, where dwelt a Moravian friend of his, attached to the same mysterious studies, and for its nearness to the inexhaustible coal-mines of Lehigh.

As I write, my recollections of the past, both ludicrous and melancholy, crowd upon me. I might amuse my readers with a history of the 'Doctors' Mob,' which happened some forty years ago, when the multitude, indignant with the physicians and surgeons for having, as was supposed, violated the repose of the dead, besieged them in their dwellings with an intention to inflict justice upon them according to their own summary notions, obliging them to slip out at windows, creep behind beer-barrels, crawl up chimneys, and get beneath feather-beds, and when the grave gentlemen of the healing art were fed in dark places like hunted rebels or persecuted prophets, for three days and three nights. I might give my readers a peep into the little dark room in Pine street, where Brown used to frame his gloomy and interesting fictions without any aid from the picturesque, and entangle his heroes in one difficulty after another without knowing how he should extricate them. I might show residing in that part of Pearl street now enlarged into Hanover Square, but then a dark and narrow passage, the famous General Moreau, who, when told that the street was not fashionable, replied that he 'lived in de house and not in de street'—a conceited grammarian, talking absurdly of that science, and magnifying his supposed discovery of three thousand new adverbs, but otherwise gentlemanly, intelligent, and aggreeable, and fortunate in his beautiful and accomplished wife. While I spoke of great men, I might touch upon the tragic and untimely end of one of our greatest—Hamilton, brought over from the fatal spot where he fell to

expire in the hospitable mansion of Mr. Bayard, on the green shore of the Hudson. I well recollect the day of his death, a fine day in July; and the bright sunshine, the smiling beauty of the spot, the cheerful sound of birds and rustling boughs and the twinkling waters of the river, contrasted strangely and unnaturally with the horror-struck countenances and death-like silence of the great multitude that gathered round the dwelling. I will not attempt to describe the scene.

In this city especially, it is of more importance to preserve the recollection of these things, since here the progress of continual alteration is so rapid, that a few years effect what in Europe is the work of centuries, and sweep away both the memory and the external vestiges of the generation that precedes us.

I was forcibly struck with this last reflection when not long since I took a walk with my friend, Mr. De Viellecour, during his last visit to New York, over what I recollected as the play-ground of myself and my companions in the time of my boyhood, and what Mr. De Viellecour remembered as the spot where his contemporaries at an early period used to shoot quails and woodcocks. We passed over a part of the city which in my time had been hills, hollows, marshes, and rivulets, without having observed anything to awaken in either of us a recollection of what the place was before the surface had been leveled and the houses erected, until, arriving at the corner of Charlton and Varick streets, we came to an edifice utterly dissimilar to anything around it. It was a wooden building of massive architecture, with a lofty portico supported by Ionic columns, the front walls decorated with pilasters of the same order, and its whole appearance distinguished by that Palladian character of rich though sober ornament, which indicated that it had been built about the middle of the last century. We both stopped involuntarily and at the same moment before it.

'If I did not see that house on a flat plain,' said Mr. De Viellecour, 'penned in by this little gravelly court-yard, and surrounded by these starveling catalpas and horse-chestnuts, I should say at once that it was a mansion which I very well remember, where in my youth I passed many pleasant hours in the society of its hospitable owner, and where, afterward, when I had the honor of representing my country in the Assembly, which then sat in New York, I had the pleasure of dining officially with Vice-President Adams. That house resembled this exactly, but then it was upon a noble hill, several hundred feet in height, commanding a view of the river and of the Jersey shore. There was a fine, rich lawn around it, shaded by large and venerable oaks and lindens, and skirted on every side by a young but thrifty natural wood of an hundred acres or more.'

Perceiving it to be a house of public entertainment, I proposed to Mr. Viellecour that we should enter it. We went into a spacious hall,

with a small room on each side opening to more spacious apartments beyond. 'Yes,' said Mr. Viellecour, 'this is certainly the house I spoke of.' He immediately, with the air of a man accustomed to the building, opened a side-door on the right, and began to ascend a wide stair-case with a heavy mahogany railing. It conducted us to a large room on the second story, with wide Venetian windows in front, and a door opening to a balcony under the portico. 'Yes,' said my friend, 'here was the dining-room. There, in the center of the table, sat Vice-President Adams in full dress, with his bag and *solitaire*, his hair frizzed out each side of his face, as you see it in Stuart's older pictures of him. On his right sat Baron Steuben, our royalist republican disciplinarian general. On his left was Mr. Jefferson, who had just returned from France, conspicuous in his red waistcoat and breeches, the fashion of Versailles. Opposite sat Mrs. Adams, with her cheerful, intelligent face. She was placed between the courtly Count Du Moustiers, the French Ambassador, in his red-heeled shoes and ear-rings, and the grave, polite, and formally bowing Mr. Van Birkel, the learned and able Envoy of Holland. There, too, was Chancellor Livingston, then still in the prime of life, so deaf as to make conversation with him difficult, yet so overflowing with wit, eloquence, and information, that while listening to him, the difficulty was forgotten. The rest were members of Congress and of our Legislature, some of them no inconsiderable men.

'Being able to talk French—a rare accomplishment in America at that time—a place was assigned to me next the Count. The dinner was served up after the fashion of that day, abundant, and as was then thought, splendid. Du Moustiers, after taking a little soup, kept an empty plate before him, took now and then a crumb of bread into his mouth, and declined all the luxuries of the table that were pressed upon him, from the roast-beef down to the lobsters. We were all in perplexity to know how the Count could dine, when at length his own body-cook, in a clean, white linen cap, a clean, white *tablier* before him, a brilliantly white damask *serviette* flung over his arm, and a warm pie of truffles and game in his hand, came brustling eagerly through the crowd of waiters, and placed it before the Count, who, reserving a moderate share to himself, distributed the rest among his neighbors, of whom being one, I can attest to the truth of the story, and the excellence of the *pâté*. But come, let us go and look at the fine view from the balcony.'

My friend stepped out at the door and I followed him. The worthy old gentleman seemed much disappointed at finding the view he spoke of confined to the opposite side of Varick street, built up with two-story brick houses, while a half-a-dozen ragged boys were playing marbles on the sidewalks. 'Well,' said he, 'the view is gone, that is clear enough; but I cannot, for my part, understand how the house has got so much lower than formerly.'

I explained to my friend the omnipotence of the Corporation, by which every high hill has been brought low, and every valley exalted, and by which I presumed this house had been abased to a level with its humbler neighbors, the hill on which it stood having been literally dug away from under it, and the house gently let down without disturbing its furniture, by the mechanical genius and dexterity of some of our eastern brethren.

'This is wrong!' said the old gentleman; 'these New Yorkers seem to take a pleasure in defacing the monuments of the good old times, and of depriving themselves of all venerable and patriotic associations. This house should have been continued in its old situation, on its own original and proper eminence, where its very aspect would have suggested its history. It was built upward of seventy years ago, by a gallant British officer, who had done good service to his native country and to this. Here Lord Amherst was entertained and held his headquarters, at the close of those successful American campaigns which, by the way, prevented half the State of New York from now being a part of Canada. Here were afterward successively the quarters of several of our American Generals in the beginning of the Revolution, and again after the evacuation of the city. Here John Adams lived as Vice-President during the time that Congress sat in New York; and here Aaron Burr, during the whole of his Vice-Presidency, kept up an elegant hospitality, and filled the room in which we stand with a splendid library, equally indicative of his taste and scholarship. The last considerable man that lived here was Counsellor Benzon, afterward Governor of the Danish islands—a man who, like you, Mr. Herbert, had traveled in every part of the world, knew everything, and talked all languages. I recollect dining here in company with thirteen gentlemen, none of whom I ever saw before, but all pleasant fellows, all men of education and some note—the Counsellor, a Norwegian, I, the only American, the rest of every different nation in Europe, and no two of the same, and all of us talking bad French together.

'There are few old houses,' continued Mr. De Viellecour, 'with the sight of which my youth was familiar, that I find here now. Two or three, however, I still recognize. One of these is the house built by my friend, Chief-Justice Jay, in the lower part of Broadway, and now occupied as a boarding-house. It is, as you know, a large square three-story house, of hewn stone, as substantially built within as without, durable, spacious, and commodious, and, like the principles of the builder, always useful and excellent, whether in or out of fashion.'

'I believe he did not reside there long?' said I.

'No, he soon afterward removed into the house built by the State for the Governors, and then to Albany, so that I saw little of him in that house beyond a mere morning visit or two. No remaining object brings him to my mind so strongly as the square pew in Trinity Church, about

the center of the north side of the north aisle. It is now, like everything else in New York, changed. It is divided into several smaller pews, though still retaining, externally, its original form. That pew was the scene of his regular, sober, unostentatious devotion, and I never look at it without a feeling of veneration. But, Mr. Herbert, can you tell me what is become of the house of my other old friend, Governor George Clinton, at Greenwich ?'

'It is still in existence,' I answered, 'although in very great danger of shortly being let down, like the one in which we now are.'

'When I was in the Assembly,' pursued Mr. De Viellecour, 'the Governor used to date his messages at Greenwich, near New York. Now, I suppose, the mansion is no longer *near*, but *in* New York.'

'Not quite,' I replied, 'but doubtless will be, next year. In the meantime, the house looks as it did.'

'I remember it well—a long, low, venerable, irregular, white, cottage-like brick-and-wood building, pleasant, notwithstanding, with a number of small low rooms, and one very spacious parlor, delightfully situated on a steep bank, some fifty feet above the shore, on which the waves of the Hudson and the tides of the bay dashed and sported. There was a fine orchard, too, and a garden on the north; but I suppose that if not gone, they are going, as they say in Pearl street.'

'It is even so—were you often there ?'

'Not often, but I had there, too, divers official dinners, and at one of them I recollect sitting next to old Melancthon Smith, a self-taught orator, the eloquent opposer of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and the Patrick Henry of the New York Convention of 1788, who for weeks successfully resisted the powerful and discursive logic of Hamilton, and the splendid rhetoric of Robert R. Livingston. On my other side and nearer the Governor, sat Brissot de Warville, then on a visit to this country, whose history as a benevolent philosophic speculatist, an ardent though visionary republican, and one of the unfortunate leaders of the Gironde party in the French National Assembly, everybody knows.'

'But you say nothing of the Governor himself ?'

'Oh, surely you must have known him ! If you did not, Trumbull's full-length of him in the City Hall here, taken forty years ago, and Ceracchi's bust, of about the same date, will give you an excellent idea of his appearance.'

'Oh, yes—his appearance was familiar to me, and I knew him personally, too; but when I was in his company I was too young to have much conversation with him, and afterward, when he was last Governor, and during his Vice-Presidency, I was, you know, out of the country.'

'His conversation and manners in private corresponded exactly with his public character and his looks. His person and face had a general resemblance to those of Washington; but though always dignified, and

in old age venerable, he had not that air of heroic elevation which threw such majesty around the Father of the Republic. There was a similar resemblance in mind. If he had the calm grandeur of Washington's intellect, he had the same plain, practical, sound, wholesome common-sense—the same unpretending but unerring sagacity as to men and measures, the same directness of purpose and firmness of decision. These qualities were exerted, as Governor during our Revolution, with such effect that the people never forgot it, and they witnessed their gratitude by confiding to him the government of this State for twenty-one years, and the second office in the Union for eight more. His behavior in society was plain but dignified, his conversation easy, shrewd, sensible, and commonly about matters of fact—the events of the Revolution, the politics of the day, the useful arts, and agriculture.

'Is Hamilton's house still standing?'

'Not that in which he labored as Secretary of the Treasury to restore the ruined credit of the nation, and reduce our finances and revenue laws to order and uniformity—where he wrote the *Federalist*, and those admirable reports which now form the most luminous commentary upon our Constitution. That was in Wall street; it has been pulled down, and its site is occupied by the Mechanics' Bank. His last favorite residence was the Grange, his country-seat at Bloomingdale, which, when I last saw it, remained much as he left it.'

Mr. Viellecour and myself ordered some refreshment, as a kind of apology for the freedoms we had taken with the old mansion. On leaving it, we walked down Greenwich street, moralizing, as we went, on the changes which time was working, so much more visibly in this little corner of the world than in any other part of it which I had seen—where the flight of years seemed swifter than elsewhere, and to bring with it more striking moral lessons. After an absence of thirty years from the great cities of Europe, I beheld, when I revisited them, the same aspect—venerable still, yet neither newer nor older than before—the same order of streets, the same public buildings, the same offices, hotels, and shops, the same names on the signs, and found my way through their intricacies as if I had left them but yesterday. Here, on the other hand, when I returned after an absence of two years, everything was strange, new, and perplexing, and I lost my way in streets which had been laid out since I left the city.'

My companion often stopped to look at houses and sites of which he had some remembrance. 'There,' said he, pointing to a modest-looking two-story dwelling in one of the cross-streets—'there died my good friend, Mons. Albert, a minister of our French Protestant Church about twenty years ago, a very learned and eloquent divine, and the most modest man I ever knew. He was a native of Lausanne, a nephew of D'Yverdun, the friend of Gibbon, who figures in the correspondence and

memoirs of the historian. Mons. Albert was much in the society of Gibbon and has related to me many anecdotes of his literary habits and conversation.'

'I must not suffer you to monopolize all the recollections of the city,' said I to my friend. 'Observe, if you please, that house on the corner opposite the one to which you have directed my attention. There lived, for a time, my old acquaintance Collies, a mathematician, a geographer, and a mechanician of no mean note. He was a kind of living antithesis, and I have often thought that nature made him expressly to illustrate that figure of rhetoric. He was a man of the most diminutive frame and the most gigantic conceptions, the humblest demeanor and the boldest projects I ever knew. Forty years ago, his mind was teeming with plans of western canals, steam-boats, rail-roads, and other public enterprises, which in more fortunate and judicious hands have since proved fruitful of wealth to the community, and of merited honor to those who carried them through. Poor Collies had neither capital to undertake them himself, plausibility to recommend them to others, nor public character and station to give weight and authority to his opinions. So he schemed and toiled and calculated all his life, and died at eighty, without having gained either wealth for himself, or gratitude from the public. The marine telegraphs in this port are a monument of his ingenuity, for he was the first man of the country who established a regular and intelligible system of ship signals.'

My friend stopped at some of the shops to make inquiries concerning the ancient inmates. At length I heard him asking for Adonis. 'Pray,' said I, 'who is this modern Adonis for whom you are inquiring? Some smooth, rose-cheeked boy, doubtless, like him of Mount Libanus.'

'This Adonis,' replied Mr. Viellecour, 'is neither a smooth nor rose-cheeked boy, being in fact a black old man, or rather gentleman, for a gentleman he is every inch of him, although a barber. I say *is*, for I hope he is still alive and well, although I have not seen him for some years. In this sneaking, fashion-conforming, selfish world, I hold in high honor any man who for the sake of any principle, important or trifling, right or wrong, so it be without personal interest, will for years submit to inconvenience or ridicule. Adonis submitted to both, and for principle's sake.'

'Principle's sake! Upon what head?'

'Upon his own, sir, or upon Louis the Sixteenth's, just as you please. Adonis was an old French negro, whom the convulsions attendant in the West Indies upon the French revolution, threw upon our shores, and who held in the utmost horror all jacobinical and republican abominations. He had an instinctive sagacity as to what was genteel and becoming in manners and behavior, as well as in the cut of a gentleman's hair, or the curl of a lady's. He had attended to the progress of the

French revolution with the greatest interest, and his feelings were excited to the highest pitch when he heard of the beheading of the French king and the banishment of the royal family. He then deliberately renounced the French nation and their *canaille parvenu* rulers, and in testimony of the sincerity of his indignation and grief, took off his hat and vowed never to put it on again until the Bourbons should be restored to the throne. This vow he faithfully kept. For twenty-one years, through all weather, did he walk the streets of New York bare-headed, carrying his hat under his arm with the air of a courtier, filled with combs, scissors, and other implements of his trade, until his hair, which was of the deepest black when he first took it off, had become as white as snow. For my part, I confess I never saw him on my occasional visits to the city, walking to the houses of his customers without his hat, but I felt inclined to take off my own to him. Like all the rest of the world, I took it for granted that the loyal old negro would never wear his hat again. At length, in the year 1814, the French armed schooner ———, with the white flag flying, arrived in the port of New York, bringing the first intelligence of the return of the Bourbons to their throne and kingdom. Adonis would not believe the report that flew like wild-fire about the city. He would not trust the translations from the French gazettes that were read to him in the American papers by his customers, but walked down to the battery with the same old hat under his arm which he had carried there for twenty years, saw the white flag with his own eyes, heard the news in French from the mouth of the cook on board the vessel, and then waving his hat three times in the air, gave three huzzas, and replaced it on his head with as much heart-felt pride as Louis the Eighteenth could have done his crown.'

I could not help smiling at the earnest gravity of the old gentleman's eulogy upon Adonis. 'I fear,' said I, 'that your chivalric *coffeur* owes a little of his sentimental loyalty to your own admiration of everything generous and disinterested. When you are excited on this head, sir, you often remind me of what old Fuseli, in his energetic style, used to say of his great idol, Michael Angelo—'All that he touched was indiscriminately stamped with his own grandeur. A beggar rose from his hands the Patriarch of poverty; the very hump of his dwarf is impressed with dignity.' I suspect you have been unconsciously playing the Michael Angelo in lighting up such a halo of consecrated glory round the bare and time-honored head of old Adonis. I am afraid I cannot do quite as much for another tonsorial artist of great celebrity who flourished here in our days, but whom, as at that time you were not much in the habit of coming to town, perhaps you do not remember. He made no claim to chivalry or romance—his sole ambition was to be witty and poetical; and witty he certainly was, as well as the vehicle and conduit of innumerable good pleasantries of other people. I mean John Desborus Huggins.'

'Huggins—Huggins,' said Mr. De Viellecour. I knew a young lady of that name once; she is now Mrs. ———, the fashionable milliner.'

'Oh, yes; that incident of your life cannot easily lose its place in my memory. But John Desborus Huggins was no relation of hers. He was of pure English blood, and had no kindred on this side of the Atlantic. At the beginning of this century, and for a dozen years after, he was the most fashionable, as well as the most accomplished artist in this city for heads, male and female. He had a shop in Broadway, a low wooden building, where now towers a tall brick pile, opposite the City Hotel. This was literally the headquarters of fashion; and fortune, as usual, followed in the train of fashion. But Huggins had a soul that scorned to confine its genius to the external decoration of his customers' heads. He panted after wider fame; he had cut Washington Irving's hair; he had shaved Anacreon Moore, and Joel Barlow on his first return from France; from them, when he was here, he caught the strong contagion of authorship. One day he wrote a long advertisement, in which he ranged from his own shop in Broadway to high and bold satire upon those who held the helm of state at Washington, mimicked Jefferson's style, and cracked some good-humored jokes upon Giles and Randolph. He carried it to the *Evening Post*. The editor, the late Mr. Coleman, you know, was a man of taste as well as a keen politician. He pruned off Huggins' exuberances, corrected his English, threw in a few pungent sarcasms of his own, and printed it.'

'It had forthwith a run through all the papers on the federal side of the question in the United States, and as many of the others as could relish a good joke, though at the expense of their own party. The name of Huggins became known from Georgia to Maine. Huggins tried a second advertisement of the same sort, a third, a fourth, with equal success. His fame as a wit was now established, business flowed in upon him in full and unebbing tide. Wits and would-be wits, fashionables and would-be fashionables, thronged his shop, strangers from north and from south had their heads cropped and their chins scraped by him for the sake of saying on their return home that they had seen Huggins, whilst during the party-giving season, he was under orders from the ladies every day and hour for three weeks ahead. But alas, unhappy man! he had now a literary reputation to support, and his invention, lively and sparkling as it had been at first, soon began to run dry. He was now obliged to tax his friends and patrons for literary assistance. Mr. Coleman was too deeply engaged in the daily discussion of grave topics to continue his help. In the kindness of my excellent friend, the late Anthony Bleecker, he found for a long time a never-failing resource. You were not much acquainted with Bleecker, I think, the most honorable, the most amiable, and the most modest of human beings. Fraught with talent, taste, and

literature, a wit and a poet, he rarely appeared in public as an author himself, while his careless generosity furnished the best part of their capital to dozens of literary adventurers, sometimes giving them style for their thoughts, and sometimes thoughts for their style. Bleecker was too kindly tempered for a partisan politician, and his contributions to Huggins were either good-natured pleasantries upon the fashions or frivolities of the day, or else classical imitations and spirited parodies in flowing and polished versification. Numerous other wits and witlings, when Bleecker grew tired of it, some of whom had neither his taste nor his nice sense of gentlemanly decorum, began to contribute, until at length Huggins found himself metamorphosed into the regular Pasquin of New York, on whom as on a mutilated old statue of that name at Rome, every wag stuck his anonymous epigram, joke, satire, or lampoon, whatever was unseeemly in his eyes or unsavory in his nostrils in this good city. I believe he was useful, however. If his humanities had not been too much neglected in his youth to allow him to quote Latin, he might have asked with Horace—*Ridentem dicere verum*—"

'My dear sir,' interrupted the old gentleman, 'if you will quote, and I see you are getting into one of your quoting moods, you had better quote old Kats, my maternal grandmother's favorite book, the great poet of Holland and common sense. He has said it better than Horace: 'Haar lagehend coysheid laert, haar spelend vormt ter deuyd.' You ought always to quote old Kats, whenever you can, for I suspect that you and I and Judge Benson are the only natives south of the Highlands who can read him. But to return to your barber-author:'

'Huggins became as fond and as proud of these contributious as if he had written them all himself, and at last collected them and printed them together in one goodly volume, entitled, *Hugginiana*, illustrated with designs by Jarvis, and wood-cuts by Anderson. He was now an author in all the forms. Luckless author! His vaulting ambition overleaped itself. He sent a copy of his book to the *Edinburgh Review*, then in the zenith of its glory, and the receipt was never acknowledged. He sent another copy to Dennie, whose *Port Folio* then guided the literary taste of this land, and Dennie noticed it only in a brief and cold paragraph. What was excellent in a newspaper *jeu d'esprit*, whilst events and allusions were fresh, lost of course much of its relish when served up cold, years after in a clumsy duodecimo. Besides, not having been able to prevail on himself to part with any thing which had once appeared under his name, much very inferior matter was suffered to overlay those sprightly articles which had first given him *eclat*. Then the town critics assailed him, and that 'most delicate monster,' the public' who had laughed at every piece, good, bad, and indifferent, singly in succession, now that the whole was collected, became fastidious, and at the instigation of the critics aforesaid, pronounced the book to be 'low.'

Frightful sentence! Huggins never held up his head after it. His razors and scissors lost their edge, his napkins and aprons their lustrous whiteness, and his conversation its soft spirit and vivacity. His affairs all went wrong thenceforward, and whatever might have been the immediate cause of his death, which took place a year or two after, the real and efficient reason was undoubtedly mortified literary pride. 'Around his tomb,' as old Johnson says of Archbishop Laud—

> 'Around his tomb, let arts and genius weep,
> But hear his death, ye blockheads, hear and sleep.'

We had now got far down into the old part of the city, when, turning up Vesey street from Greenwich, Mr. De Viellecour made a sudden pause. 'Ah,' said he, 'one more vestige of the past. There,' pointing to a common looking old house, 'there, in 1790, was the *atelier* of Ceracchi, when he was executing his fine busts of our great American statesmen.'

'Indeed!' answered I—'I have often thought of it as a singular piece of natural good fortune, that at a time when our native arts were at so low an ebb, we had such an artist thrown upon our shores to perpetuate the true and living likenesses of our revolutionary chiefs and sages. Ceracchi's busts of Washington, Jay, Alexander Hamilton, George Clinton, and others, are now as mere portraits above all price to this nation; and they have besides a classic grace about them, which entitle the artist to no contemptible rank as a statuary.'

'It was not a piece of mere good fortune,' said my friend; 'we have to thank the artist himself for it. Ceracchi was a zealous republican, and he came here full of enthusiasm, anxious to identify his own name in the arts somehow or other with our infant republic—and he has done it. He had a grand design of a national monument, which he used to show to his visitors, and which he wished Congress to employ him to execute in marble or bronze. Of course they did not do so, and, as it happened, he was much more usefully employed for the nation in modeling the busts of our great men.'

'He was an Italian—I believe a Roman—and had lived some time in England, where he was patronized by Reynolds. Sir Joshua (no mean proof of his talent) sat to him for a bust, and a fine one I am told it is. Ceracchi came to America enthusiastic for liberty, and he found nothing here to make him change his principles or feelings. But the nation was not ripe for statuary: a dozen busts exhausted the patronage of the country, and Congress was too busy with pounds, shillings, and pence, fixing the revenue laws, and funding the debt, to think of his grand allegorical monument. Ceracchi could not live upon liberty alone, much as he loved it, and when the French revolution took a very decided character, he went to France, and plunged into politics. Some years

after he returned to Rome, where he was unfortunately killed in an insurrection or popular tumult, growing out of the universal revolutionary spirit of those times.'

'May his remains rest in peace,' added I. 'Whatever higher works of art he may have left elsewhere—and he who could produce those fine classic, historical busts, was undoubtedly capable of greater things—whatever else he may have left in Europe, here his will be an enduring name. As long as Americans shall hold in honored remembrance the memory of their first and best patriots—as long as our sons shall look with reverent interest on their sculptured images, the name of Ceracchi will be cherished here:

> 'And while along the stream of time, their name
> Expanded flies and gathers all its fame;
> Still shall his little bark attendant sail,
> Pursue the triumph and partake the gale.'

We had now finished our long walk, and as the old gentleman was going into his lodgings, I took leave of him, saying, that our afternoon's walk had furnished me with the materials, and I was now going home to record our conversation as a chapter of 'Reminiscences of New York.'"

In 1835, New York was visited by the most terrible conflagration she had ever experienced—an event which was so disastrous to the mercantile as well as to the private interests of the city that a full account of it in this connection may not be omitted. Mr. Disosway, who was present on the occasion, has kindly furnished us the following account of the conflagration itself and the losses entailed by it:

FIRE OF 1835.

"The fearful night of December 16, 1835, will long be remembered for the most terrible conflagration that has ever visited our great city. I then resided in that pleasant Quaker neighborhood, Vandewater street, and hearing an alarm of fire, hastened to the front door. I immediately discovered, from the direction of the flame and smoke that the fire was 'down town,' and not far off. Thousands of others besides myself dreaded such an alarm that night, as it was the coldest one we had had for thirty-six years. A gale of wind was also blowing. I put on an old, warm overcoat and an old hat for active service 'on my own hook.' Years afterward these articles, preserved as curiosities, bore marks of the heat, sparks, and exposure of that fearful time. Our own store, Disosway & Brothers, 180 Pearl street, near Maiden Lane, although fire-proof, naturally became the first object of my attention. This was providentially located several blocks above the fire, and, accordingly, having lighted the gas and leaving the clerks to watch, I hastened to the building that was on fire.

This was the store of Comstock & Andrews, well-known fancy dry-goods jobbers, at the corner of Pearl and Merchant streets, a narrow, new lane a little below Wall street. When I entered the building on the lower floor the fire had commenced in the counting-room, having caught, as it was believed, from the stove-pipe. Those few of us present had time to remove a considerable quantity of light

fancy silk articles. The goods, however, were of a very inflammable nature, and a strong current of air sweeping through the adjoining lane, we were soon compelled to leave the balance of this large and valuable stock to destruction. Here, and in this manner, the great fire of 1835 originated.

In a short time this tall and large brick store was enveloped in flames, which burst from the doors and windows on both streets. Over half an hour had elapsed before the first engine had arrived, and attempted to throw a stream upon the opposite stores of Pearl street, against which the gale was driving the rapidly increasing heat and embers. But so furious were both, that the boldest firemen retreated for their lives and the safety of their machine. The street at this point is very narrow, and prevented any man from reaching the lower or adjacent part of Pearl from this end. A burning wall of fire now intervened, and increased every moment. The way to the alarming scene was through William and Water streets and Old Slip. After a little while that which was universally dreaded, happened—the water in the hydrants froze and prevented the engine from obtaining any further supply. Having drawn the 'machine' to a safe place, the firemen nobly went to work, saving property. It was all they possibly could do. The reader must remember that the thermometer had now fallen below zero, which, added to a biting, fierce winter wind, paralyzed the exertions of both firemen and citizens. All ordinary means for stopping the rapidly increasing flames were abandoned, and the efforts of all were directed to the removal of the contents of the buildings to places beyond the supposed reach of destruction. In this way immense quantities of goods were placed in the large Merchants' Exchange on Wall street, in Old Slip, Hanover Square, and the Garden Street Dutch Church and its adjoining grave-yard. In a few hours, however, the devouring element, reaching these areas and splendid edifices, swept everything away as with the 'besom of destruction.' Millions of dollars were consumed in a very short time.

I am writing my own reminiscences of that awful night, and not the experiences of another, and must be excused if I often use the personal pronoun. By midnight it was evident that no earthly power could stay the *then* Etna-like rapid progress of the raging torrent, which increased every moment most alarmingly, and spread in every direction, except toward the east. Most fortunately it did not cross Wall, that street having become an impassable barrier, else the eastern and upper sections of the city might have shared the same fate as the lower. Who can tell where the calamity would have paused, for there were immense blocks of wooden buildings on Water and Cherry and Pearl streets, 'up' town more than 'down,' and inflammable magazines which, once fired, could extend the common destruction over the city.

My own course that night was to obtain voluntary aid, and entering the stores of personal friends remove if possible books and papers. Such was absolutely the heat in front of some stores on the south side of Pearl, near Wall street, that although they were not yet on fire, it was impossible to force an entrance that way, and we were obliged to effect it from Water street, as those buildings extended through the block. A panel in the rear door was broken out, and entering through this with lanterns, we reached the counting-room, and then collecting the books and invoices placed them in a hand-cart and sent them away. It is impossible to imagine the fervent heat created by the increasing flames. Many of the stores were new, with iron shutters, doors, and copper roofs and gutters, 'fire-proof' of first-class, and I carefully watched the beginning and the progress of their destruction. The heat alone, at times, melted the copper roofing, and the burning liquid ran off in great drops; at one store, near Arthur Tappan & Co.'s, I warned some firemen of their danger from this unexpected source. Along here the buildings were of

the first-class, and one after another ignited under the roof, from the next edifice, downward, from floor after floor went the devouring element. As the different stories caught, the iron-closed shutters shone with glowing redness, until at last, forced open by the uncontrollable enemy within, they presented the appearance of immense iron furnaces in full blast. The tin and copper bound roofs often seemed struggling to maintain their fast hold, gently rising and falling and moving, until their rafters giving way, they mingled in the blazing crater below of goods, beams, floors, and walls.

On the north side of Hanover Square stood the fine store-house of Peter Remsen & Company, one of the largest East India firms, with a valuable stock. Here we assisted, and many light bales of goods were thrown from the upper windows, together with a large amount of other merchandise, all heaped in the midst of the Square, then thought to be a perfectly secure place. Vain calculation! Both sides of Pearl street were soon in the furious blaze, and the ground became covered with living cinders. This whole pile dissolved and mingled in the common and increasing ruin. Water street, too, was on fire, and we hastened to the old firm of S. B. Harper & Sons, grocers, on Front, opposite Gouverneur Lane, where there appeared to be no immediate danger.

The father and sons had arrived, and we succeeded in removing their valuables. As we left the store after the last load, a terrible explosion occurred near by with the noise of a cannon. The earth shook. We ran for safety, not knowing what might follow, and took refuge on the corner of Gouverneur Lane, nearly opposite. Waiting for a few minutes, a second explosion took place, then another and another. During the space, perhaps, of half an hour, shock after shock followed in rapid succession, accompanied with the darkest, thickest clouds of smoke imaginable. The explosions came from a store on Front street, near Old Slip, where large quantities of saltpeter in bags had been stored. Suddenly the whole ignited, and out leaped the flaming streams of these neutral salts in their own peculiar colors, from every door and window. Some might have called them fireworks. We have never forgotten this saltpeter eruption or explosion, and never doubted since the explosive character of the article.

About midnight, the onward march of the uncontrolled riotous flames had reached the East River, and could go no further beyond that impassable barrier. Before this, the crowded shipping had fortunately sufficient time to be removed from the docks and slips. One of the most grand and frightful scenes of the whole night was the burning of a large oil store at the corner of Old Slip and South street. It was four or more stories high, and filled with windows on both sides without any shutters. This was before the days of petroleum and kerosene, and the building was full of sperm and other oils. These fired hogshead after hogshead, and over the spacious edifice resembled a vast bonfire or giant beacon, casting its bright beams far and wide on the river and surrounding region, but finally the confined inflammable mass, from eaves to cellar, shot out with tremendous force through every window and opening, and soon all disappeared except the cracked, tottering, and falling walls.

The blazing flying timbers were carried across the East River, and in one instance set fire to the roof of a house in Brooklyn, which, however, was quickly extinguished. Large quantities of tar and turpentine on the wharves becoming ignited, ran down blazing into the stream, and floating off, made a sort of burning sea, many square yards in extent. The conflagration increasing every moment, also extended inward toward Broadway. Great hopes were indulged that the Merchants' marble Exchange (in which, since 1827, the Post-Office had been located) would escape. In the vast rotunda of the edifice stood a most beautiful white

marble statue of Alexander Hamilton. Accordingly, a great anxiety was manifested to save this image of the great statesman. It was a masterpiece of art, and hundreds of willing hands, including those of a large number of sailors, undertook its removal, but to no purpose, and the finely chiseled marble, with the solid granite of the Exchange, before long mingled together in common ruin. The letters of the Post-Office were alone saved.

There was evidently now no salvation for those fine new stores on William street near by, and in Exchange Place, where the auctioneers and other commission houses had located. I sought the premises of Burns, Halliburton & Company, one of the most popular firms of that day. They were the agents of the Merrimack and other works, and had an immense valuable stock of calicos, muslin, and flannels. Their large store extended from William street to the grave-yard of the Garden Street Church. Most of the stock was easily removed to this place of imagined security, which, indeed, became the depot, for the time being, for millions of merchandise. We soon cleared this store. The firm were agents also for extra flannels. These, packed in small bales and light, were readily cast from the upper stories into the grave-yard. In one of the upper lofts I met a member of the firm, Mr. B., one of Nature's noblemen, since dead, with his other partners, and he was weeping. 'Too hard,' said he, 'after all the toil of years, to see property thus suddenly destroyed!' 'Cheer up,' we replied, 'the world is still wide enough for success and fortune,' and so it proved to him and many other sufferers.

This row of fine new stores had very flat roofs, and, imagining that a good view of the whole conflagration could be obtained from the top, we soon found our way there. Some friends in the yard, fearing that we had been locked up and in danger, screamed like wild Indians, pointing out a way of escape. But there was no danger, and what a sight now presented itself. From Maiden Lane to Coenties Slip and from William street to the East River, the whole immense area, embracing some thirteen acres, all in a raging, uncontrollable blaze! To what can we compare it? An ocean of fire, as it were, with roaring, rolling, burning waves, surging onward and upward, and spreading certain universal destruction, tottering walls and falling chimneys, with black smoke, hissing, crashing sounds on every side. Something like this, for we cannot describe it, was the fearful prospect, and soon satisfied with the alarming, fearful view, we retreated from our high look-out. The light had spread more and more vividly from the fiery arena, rendering every object, far and wide, minutely discernible, the lower bay and its islands, with the shores of Long Island and New Jersey. Even from Staten Island the conflagration was very plainly seen. A sea on fire is perhaps the best similitude I can fancy to describe this grand and awful midnight winter scene.

Not long after we left our high stand-point it was enveloped in the universal blaze, and soon the Garden Street Church, with the spire, organ, and heaps of goods stored within and outside, were consumed. There too was lost the venerable bell which had been removed at an early period in New York history from the old St. Nicholas Church, within the present Battery. 'What more can be done to stop the progress of the flames?' became the anxious and general inquiry. Mr. Cornelius W. Lawrence, the Mayor, appeared with his officers, and after consultation, it was determined 'to blow up' some buildings, and the east corner of Coenties Slip and Coenties Lane (a narrow street), was selected as the proper place to begin the necessary work. On the opposite side was the store of William Van Antwerp & Co., hardware dealers and relatives of the writer, who, engaged at this point in saving goods, could see the necessary preparations for the blast. The building to be 'blown up,' I think, was occupied by Wyncoop & Co., grocers. It was large, and of brick. Colonel Smith soon arrived with the powder and a gang of officers and sailors from

the Navy Yard; and none else were permitted to interfere. They commenced mining in the cellar, and placing heavy timbers upon the powder kegs and against the beams of the floors, everything was soon ready for the explosion. A friend near by, said to an old tar, 'Be careful or you will be blown up!' 'Blow and be ——!' was the careless and characteristic reply to the warning. But all having been admirably and safely arranged, the crowd retreated. The touch was applied, and in an instant the report followed; then the immense mass heaved up as if by magic, and losing its fastenings, from the cellar to the roof, tottered, shook, and fell. A shout went up from the gazing spectators; and at this point the common danger was evidently arrested, thanks to Colonel Swift, Lieutenant Reynolds, and Captain Mix of the Navy, and their noble, brave sailors. Heroism can be as much displayed at a terrible catastrophe of this kind, as on the bloody field of battle, and it was to-night. This party of miners arrived about two o'clock in the morning, when their important work commenced. They continued it successfully in another direction; indeed, it was believed that the conflagration was at last checked by this blowing up of the buildings.

Wearied with watching, labor, and anxiety, thousands wished for the return of day, and at length a dim increasing light in the east, but enshrouded with dull, heavy clouds of smoke foretold the coming morning. And what an unexpected melancholy spectacle to thousands did New York present! The generous firemen from Philadelphia soon after made their appearance; but the fire had been checked. The immense remains continued to blaze and burn for many days. We could now travel around the bounds of the night's destruction, but no living being could venture through them. In many places there were no lines of the streets to be discovered at all, as every foot of ground was covered with the heated bricks, timbers, and rubbish of the destroyed buildings.

Many a merchant living in the upper section of the city went quietly to bed that night, and strange as it may seem, when he came down town the next morning literally could not find his store nor enough of his stock remaining to cover his hand —every yard, ell, pound gone! There were official statements of several stores in each of which a quarter of a million of dollars in goods was consumed, with books, notes and accounts. New York the next day sat, as it were, in sackcloth and ashes, and real sorrow began to appear on men's faces as the losses and ruin were discovered by the light of day. To increase, also, the public calamity, the insurance companies, except the Ætna, of Hartford, and the Chatham, had all become bankrupt from their severe losses, and could not pay. Universal gloom prevailed, but not despondency.

There was great anxiety expressed for the preservation of the Merchants, Exchange on Wall street, and a large crowd assembled in front to watch the noble edifice, now in imminent danger. We have stated that the letters of the Post-Office, then in its basement, were saved, and the marble statue of HAMILTON, placed beneath the rotunda, was lost. But now the fire-fiend had reached the solid structure, and all hopes of saving it were abandoned. The public gaze evidently centered most upon its cupola. Higher and higher the flames reached, and after a brief conflict the roof fell. A short silence ensued in the almost breathless crowd, but what a strange thing is ever a mob? Next went up—shall we call it a fiendish shout, as a friend standing by did at the time? Then came another pause, the lofty, shooting fires lighting up the faces of surrounding crowds. At this moment a man was seen hurrying along, crying out at the top of his voice, 'Is there a surgeon among you, gentlemen? for God's sake is there a surgeon?' The report soon spread that hundreds were in the Exchange at the moment its cupola fell, and those dragged out of the ruins needed a surgeon's care. Providentially this was not the case, and

that which was still more wonderful and striking, no fatal or serious accident occurred during the whole of this awful December calamity.

During the conflagration, then under full headway toward Broad street, the presence of mind of one man saved much property. This was Downing, the oyster king, of Broad street fame. Water was out of the question, and at this emergency he thought of his supplies of vinegar, which were large, and with careful application by pail-full after pail-full, a large amount of property was saved in that direction from the general destruction. To his good sense, and credit, and worthy memory, we record this generous act.

We forgot to mention one circumstance connected with the destruction of the Garden Street Church, and have been reminded of it by a friend, who was among the very last persons to leave the sacred edifice. Many, many a solemn dirge had been played upon that fine organ at the burial of the dead, and now, the holy temple on fire, some one commenced performing upon it its own funeral dirge, and continued it until the lofty ceiling was in a blaze—the music ceased, and in a short time the beautiful edifice, with its noble instrument and immense quantities of goods stored inside and out, were all irrecoverably gone, nothing escaping save the long-sleeping dust and bones of the buried dead.

I forgot also to mention in its proper place some items about the old 'Tontine Coffee-House.' This was the 'Exchange' of the city. The old folks may remember its rough but pleasant keeper, old Buyden. We only have heard of his fame, and it is related of him, that when the first anthracite coal was offered for sale in New York, he tried it in the hall of the Tontine; but he pronounced the new article worse than nothing, for he had put one scuttle into the grate, and then another, and after they were consumed he took up two scuttles full of stones!

In the great fire of 1835, this well-known public edifice came very near sharing the common destruction. The engines had almost entirely ceased working, and the Tontine was discovered to be on fire in its broad cornices, at the corner of Wall and Water streets. This created still greater alarm, for the burning of this large building would destroy the hopes of saving the eastern section of the city if not more. Two solitary engines, with what little water they managed to obtain, were throwing their feeble and useless streams upon the flaming stores opposite, when Mr. Oliver Hull, of our city, calling their attention to the burning cornice, generously promised to denote one hundred dollars to the Firemen's Fund 'if they would extinguish that blaze.' Seeing the threatening danger, they immediately made a pile of boxes which had been removed from the adjacent stores, from the top of which, by great efforts, a stream reached the spot and quickly put out the alarming flame. Mr. Hull is still living, and thanks to him for his wise counsel and generosity at that trying moment, and gratitude to the noble firemen who so successfully averted the awful progress of the destroying element from crossing Wall street and ending, who can tell where? They were frequently told of the vital importance of preventing the conflagration extending beyond this limit, and labored accordingly, and with the happiest results.

As already stated, no lives were lost during the conflagration; still we remember that shortly afterward, one of our most widely-known and respected fellow-citizens passed away in death. This was John Laing, often called 'Honest John Laing,' the senior partner of Laing, Turner & Co., of the old *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, and his last illness—of paralysis or apoplexy—was hastened by the excitement and devastation of this great public calamity. He was a gentleman of the old-school *queue* hair style.

In the estimated thirteen acres of the burnt district, only one store escaped entire. This was occupied by the well-known John A. Moore of this day, in the

iron trade on Water street near Old Slip. Watched inside, and fire-proof, in their wildest career, the rapid flames seemed, as it were, to overleap the building, destroying all others. There it stood, solitary and alone, amidst surrounding entire destruction, as a sad monument stands alone amid the general ruin.

As many as three or four buildings were blown up to stop the progress of the fire, all other efforts having failed, and if such a measure had been resorted to earlier, great destruction of property might possibly have been prevented. There was also a want of powder, although, unknown to the citizens, a vessel loaded with the article lay anchored in the stream. At last Mr. Charles King generously volunteered to visit the Navy Yard for a supply, and returned with a band of marines and sailors. The explosions went on fearfully and successfully. Up and down went the mined structures, two barrels of powder under each, until no flames were left, no means of spreading the fiery element to the next houses.

The extent of the fire in December, 1835, may be imagined from its several limits. These, commencing at Coffee-House Slip, extended along South street to Coenties Slip, thence to near Broad, along William to Wall, and down that street to the East River on the south side, with the exception of Nos. 51, 53, 55, 57, 59 and 61, along where the new splendid banking-house of Brown Brothers & Company now stands. This burned district embraced some thirteen acres, in which nearly seven hundred houses were leveled to the ground in a single winter's night, with a loss of seventeen million dollars; *four* millions, it was calculated, was the value of the buildings, and *thirteen* of the goods. During a few hours this vast amount disappeared, either in the flaming atmosphere or in ashes upon the earth—the most costly goods and products from every portion of our globe. Some merchants, retiring to bed wealthy in the evening, and perhaps so dreaming, found themselves the next morning either ruined or their estates seriously injured. In the impressive language of Scripture, their riches had taken wings and flew away in a single night, warehouse, stock, notes, and books, all gone beyond recovery.

After the general consternation had somewhat subsided, a public meeting assembled in Mr. Lawrence's office (the Mayor's), City Hall, to consider what should be done under the circumstances. At this meeting committees were appointed to provide means for the relief of the most necessitous cases, and to ascertain the condition of the insurance companies, and the amount of the losses as far as practicable. The writer acted as secretary of this last committee, and the losses absolutely stated from various firms and parties amounted to *seventeen millions* of dollars. In many cases they were total. Some would not name their damages, and among them very large houses, and although the *seventeen* millions were reported by the losers, still the committee estimated the *real* loss at *twenty* millions of dollars. To increase the difficulties, all the insurance companies, except the two mentioned in a former article, failed to meet the demands against them, but paid as much as they were able, and this consumed all their assets, leaving them bankrupt. This result caused great distress among a class who had been otherwise unharmed—old people, widows, orphans, and others, whose income came from fire insurance *dividends;* these were now at an end, and many suffered severely in consequence. Among the first acts of the public committee was to relieve this class.

In respect to the entire loss, some accounts place the number of buildings at five hundred and twenty-eight, others higher. Let us visit the 'Burnt District,' as it was then named, commencing at the eastern limits. Coffee-House Slip, and South, Front, and Water streets, were burnt down from Wall street to Coenties Slip, Pearl consumed from the same point to Coenties alley, and there, as we have seen, stopped by the blowing up of a building. This was the well-known crowded region of the dry-goods importers and jobbers, merchant princes in the

granite palaces, filled with the richest merchandise, domestic and imported. The destruction on Stone street, extended down from William to then No. 32, one side, and to No. 39 on the other. Beaver was destroyed half-way to Broad. Exchange place was burned from Hanover street to within three doors of Broad, and here also the flames were arrested by blowing up a house. The loss on William street was complete, commencing at Wall and ending in South, and on both sides, including the market in Old Slip. Wall street was devastated on the south side from William to South, excepting, as we have noticed, Nos. 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, and 61. The greatest efforts were made along here to prevent the flames reaching the banks and offices on the opposite side. Here was located the *Courier and Inquirer* office, and we well remember the noble person of its editor, Col. Webb, as he stood on a prominent, elevated place, exhorting the people to renewed diligence and efforts to save the city. All the intermediate streets, lanes, and alleys within these limits were also swept away by the destroying element. The following statement will be found, we imagine, nearly accurate, of the houses and stores leveled to the earth:

On Wall street	26	On Old Slip	33
On South street	76	On Stone street	40
On Front street	80	On Mill street	38
On Water street	76	On Beaver street	23
On Pearl street	79	On Hanover street	16
On Exchange place	62	On Coenties Slip	16
On Gouverneur's Lane	20	On Hanover Square	3
On Jones's Lane	10	On Cuyler's Alley	20
On Exchange	31		
On William street	44	Total	674

Six hundred and seventy-four tenements were thus consumed in a few short hours, and the far greater part were occupied by New York's largest shipping and wholesale dry-goods merchants, besides many grocers.

This was a terrible day for the commercial emporium of our land. The destruction had been fearful, and so were the consequences. In a few months the United States Bank suspended payment; then followed the commercial distress of 1837, and for a time business seemed paralyzed. Next came bankruptcy after bankruptcy in quick succession, and soon the banks of our State stopped payment for one year. The Legislature legalized this necessary public act. What a disastrous moment! what terrible reverses! what gloomy forebodings and prospects! But the most wonderful fact of all these fearful times was the energy and elasticity of the New Yorkers. Not long depressed by their misfortunes, a reaction took place, and before many months the city literally arose from her ashes, and acres of splendid granite, marble, brown-stone, and brick stores filled the entire 'Burnt District.' Business, trade, and commerce revived more briskly than ever before. How truly astonishing, and how noble and praiseworthy. What shall we call our native city —the giant of the Western World, the queen of America, the commercial emporium, or by what other name? Her wharves and streets are now visited by men from every region of the world, and her white canvas gladdens every ocean. In vain do we search for a chapter in ancient or modern history of such a conflagration and its losses, and of rapid recovery from all its evils, with increasing prosperity, as we find in the great fire of New York in December, 1835. Well may New Yorkers be proud of their noble city, her enterprise, her trade, and her 'merchant princes.'"

New York had now fairly distanced all competitors. The gas had been introduced into the city in 1825; the magnificent Merchants' Exchange on Wall street (the present Custom-House) and the Custom-

House (now the Sub-Treasury), erected in 1827; the Croton Acqueduct completed and its practical utility inaugurated by a brilliant procession in 1842; and a communication by the magnetic telegraph opened with other cities. Nothing was wanting to her *temporal* prosperity; her *civil* freedom was all that could be desired; and one thing only was necessary to place her on a footing with her sister cities in breadth and liberality of sentiment. Nor was she long in taking this last step. By the provisions of an act, passed by the New York Board of Education, on the 11th of April, 1842, it was declared that no school in which any religious or sectarian doctrine or tenet was taught, should receive any portion of the school moneys to be distributed by this act. Archbishop Hughes at once took the ground that to allow the Bible to be read daily in the schools was teaching a sectarian doctrine, and therefore demanded that the schools in which it was read should not be included in the distribution of the moneys. Colonel Stone, who for many years had been one of the School Commission, and at this time (1843–44) was Superintendent of the Common Schools,* immediately protested against the promulgation of this

* The difficulty which the author experienced in endeavoring to discover the year in which Col. Stone was Superintendent of Common Schools, deserves particular mention, as showing the shiftless manner in which the public records are kept in the City of New York. Wishing to ascertain the exact year in which Mr. Stone held the office, he went to a gentleman (we will call him A), whom he knew to be engaged in writing a history of our common schools and asked the question. The gentleman was unable to tell him at the moment, but referred him to the Board of Education as the place where, of course, the desired information could be obtained. The author went there and asked an officer of the Board the question. He could not tell him, but referred him to a gentleman up stairs who would know. The latter, however, was equally in the dark, but, in his turn, referred his questioner to a gentleman down stairs in still another department, who, having been connected with the Board for a long term of years, would certainly know. Upon repeating the question to this one, he was informed that he did not know, as until within a few years the school records had not been annually printed, and that the manuscript kept by the different secretaries before that time was mislaid. He, however, was positive that if he should go to Mr. ———, in Wall street, he would know, as he was one of the School Commissioners in the year designated. To him, therefore, the author went; but his astonishment may well be imagined when that person said he had entirely forgotten, but stated that if he would go to such a one—mentioning the veritable *Mr.* A.—he could undoubtedly tell him, as he was now engaged upon a history of the common schools! This, if not "reasoning in a circle," certainly was questioning in a circle, the questioner having brought up at the very point from which he started! Finally, upon the author making a second visit to the room of the Board, an attaché of the place, who had a dim recollection of a record-book being in the cellar, went down stairs, and after much search exhumed the manuscript, from which, after patient search, the desired information was brought to light. Now, if such difficulty exists in ascertaining—not an insignificant fact, but one relating to the Superintendent of Common Schools only twenty years since—what would be the difficulty in finding the history of events which occurred thirty, forty, or fifty years ago?

We have stated the above with no intention of throwing censure upon the

atrocious sentiment. A lengthy public discussion upon this point followed between the Archbishop and Mr. Stone, in which the latter carried the day; and at a meeting of the Board of Education, held November 13, 1844 (two months after Mr. Stone's death), the act was amended by a resolution to the effect "that the Bible, without note or comment, is not a sectarian book, and that the reading of a portion of the Scriptures without note or comment, at the opening of the schools, is not inculcating or practicing any religious, sectarian doctrine or tenet of any particular Christian or other religious sect." The catholic spirit of New York's Dutch ancestors had triumphed. Henceforth, it is hoped that she will be as cosmopolitan in her religious, as she is in her civil rights.

In 1845 New York was again visited by a conflagration second only in its ravages to the one of 1835.

THE FIRE OF 1845.

The burnt district embraced Broadway, Exchange Place, Whitehall, New, and Broad streets, Beaver, Marketfield, Stone, and Whitehall, and, which is a striking coincidence, a portion of the same region devastated by the great conflagration in '35, ten years before!

It broke out on July 19, 1845, completely destroying Exchange Place and Beaver street from Broadway almost to William. Both sides of Broad street, from above Exchange Place to Stone, with the east sides

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officers of the present Board. The fault lies not at their door. On the contrary, with great courtesy, they endeavored to aid us to the extent of their ability, and realized in its fullest extent the evils of the manner in which the records had in former times been kept. Indeed, it is only justice to say that it has been through their exertions that the proceedings have latterly been printed.

Another remarkable illustration of the subject existed a few years ago in the basement of the City Hall under the County Clerk's Office. The ancient rolls of the colonial courts were one grand pile of parchment, lying in mass, and great quantities were stolen and sold to gold-beaters. It would probably be impossible at the present time to find the judgment-roll in any cause tried prior to the year 1787, unless by chance. Possibly there has been more care of late in the preservation of these records. Their value cannot be overestimated.

Although there may be spasmodic attempts by individuals to bring about a reform in this regard, yet we greatly fear that it will continue so long as the true cause of the difficulty remains, to wit, that political maxim—the bane of American institutions—"to the victors belong the spoils." New office-holders care little for old records; and, throwing aside all sentiment in the matter, unless this thing is rectified, it will, in time, embarrass the practical business relations of every-day life. More attention must be paid to preserving records. It is not necessary to make enormous jobs, such as the atrocity which was perpetrated in New York City in reference to the Register's Office. What is needed is, a general respect for the value of old records, and the adoption of preservative means. Better paper to record on; better binding to keep; and above all, fire-proof buildings for all public records.

of Broadway and Whitehall were consumed. Above Exchange Place the flames crossed Broadway and consumed a number of buildings on its west side. During the progress of the fire a tremendous explosion took place, similar to that of 1835, in a building stored with saltpeter. The owner contended that this article could not explode, which gave rise to the long-debated question, "Will saltpeter explode?" and for a long time able and scientific men warmly took sides in the arguments. Explosive or not, this was the second store filled with the article that blew up, causing great alarm and destruction to the neighborhood.

Three hundred and forty-five buildings were swept away at this time. Their value, with the goods, was estimated at about $5,000,000. Among other things destroyed was the old "Old Jail Bell," which had hung and rung in the cupola of that ancient civil pest-house and prison during the American Revolution. There, as already stated, for years it was the fire-alarm or signal, and was considered especially the firemen's bell, as it could be depended on at all times. At an early period, when it uttered its warning tones, citizens with fire-buckets on their arms, might be seen hastening to the scene of danger and forming into parallel lines, one to pass the full buckets to fill the engines, and the other to return the empty ones for refilling. Most of the New York families had such leather buckets, which generally hung in some prominent part of the hall or entry, ready at hand in case of need.

The signal-bell rang in the days of John Lamb and pleasant-faced Tommy Franklin, and during Jameson Cox's and Wyman's and Gulick's administrations. It was cherished by the firemen, and upon the destruction of the Bridewell the old bell was placed in the cupola of the Naiad Hose Company, Beaver street, and was still devoted to its long-established uses. But the great fire of '45 swept away this building, with its venerable bell, and the faithful old public sentinel, sounding its last alarm, succumbed to the flaming foe against which it had so many years successfully warned the citizens.

THE OLD AND NEW FIRE DEPARTMENT.

How different the Fire Department now from the one of former years, when men were the horses to drag the ropes of the machine, and their strong arms the *motive* power to work them! Now we have in their places horses to pull the engines, and the mighty giant, steam, to force the water upon the raging fiery element. Still, the little old-fashioned hand fire-engines did wonderful service in their day; and indeed the noble bearing, bravery, endurance, and success of our New York firemen had a world-renowned fame. For a long while "No. 5" on Fulton street, with "14," near St. Paul's Church, were considered the "crack companies" of the city, the first to reach a fire and among the last to leave it, and many a race they had. Before the year 1798, the citizens of New

York volunteered to take charge of and manage the fire-engines, but in the month of March of that year the Legislature granted an act of incorporation by which the firemen of the city were "constituted and declared to be a body politic in fact and in the name of the Fire Department." This was the origin of the system nearly seventy years ago. This act continued until April, 1810, and has been renewed from time to time since the Common Council appointed a "Chief Engineer, with a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum," to whom was confided the sole control of this department. He reported twice a year to the Common Council the condition of the engines, buckets, houses, and apparatus. He also reported all fires and their accidents, with the number of buildings destroyed or injured, the names of the sufferers, with the probable cause of the burning, &c.

The Fire Wardens were also appointed by the Common Council, but none were eligible until they had served as firemen five years. They were a kind of overseers at the fires, and during the months of June and December examined all fire-places, chimneys, stoves, ovens, and boilers, and if found defective, ordered the owners to repair them, and if neglected a fine of $25 was imposed. They also examined all buildings, and would often order hemp, hay, gunpowder, and other combustible articles to be removed to safe places, under a penalty of $10.

The firemen, divided into companies, chose their own foreman, assistant, and clerk, from their own number. The fire-wardens wore a hat, the brim of which was black, the crown white. The city arms were blazoned on its front. They also carried a speaking-trumpet, painted white, with "Warden," in black letters. When a building took fire in the night, notice was immediately given by the watchmen to the members of the corporation, fire-wardens, and bell-ringers; they also called out "Fire," and the inhabitants placed lighted candles in their windows to aid the engines in their passages through the streets. Watchmen neglecting their duties were liable to a fine of $100. When a chimney took fire the occupant of the house was fined $5. The same fine was imposed upon carpenters who did not carefully remove their shavings at the end of every day's work. A person using a lighted lamp or candle in a store-house, unless secured in a lantern, forfeited $10.

Forty years ago, Mr. Cox, the Chief Engineer, reported forty-two engines in good order, five hook and ladder trucks, and one hose wagon, with 10,256 feet of good hose; also two hundred and fifty-five buckets, and twenty-eight ladders and thirty hooks. The total number of men belonging to the Fire Department was 1,347. What a wonderful change in the system since! In 1865, the Metropolitan Fire Department was created and chartered by the Legislature, Charles E. Pinkney, president, and that fine old fireman, Philip W. Engs, treasurer. Now they use steam, horse, and man power, and have also the Croton water. The

new act allows twelve steam fire-engines and hook and ladder companies, the engines to have one foreman, one assistant, an engineer, stoker, driver, with seven firemen. To the hook and ladders, each one foreman, one assistant, a driver, and nine firemen.

Their pay is fixed at $3,000 per annum to the Chief Engineer; Assistants, $2,000; District Engineer, $1,500; Foremen, $1,100; Assistant, $900; engineer of steam-engine, $1,080; stokers, drivers, and firemen, $840 each; Superintendent of Telegraph, $1,800; telegraph operators, $1,000 each; battery boy, $500; line-man, $1,000; and bell-ringers, each $800. The Department are uniformed, and their engines have increased to forty-four, and the hook and ladders to seventeen.

Many fires have occurred since the one of 1845. Theaters, opera-houses, hotels, museums, and churches have fallen before the destroyer, each involving heavy losses; but the city has never since been visited by such wholesale destruction of property; and it is fervently to be hoped that New York, protected by its present efficient Fire Department, has experienced the last of similar calamities.

In August, 1865, the Old Warren Mansion, one of the last of the ancient landmarks that linked modern to old New York, was torn down; its beautiful lawns covered with brick, and its massive locusts cut down and given to the winds. This mansion, which stood near the intersection of Charles street and Bleecker, was built by Sir Peter Warren about 1740. Although when demolished, in the heart of the city, yet at that time it stood in the open country with its lawns reaching down to the North River—long before even the first cottage had been built in the village of Greenwich. It is indeed safe to say that around no other house did there cluster so many associations which to New Yorkers should be especially dear. Admiral, afterward Sir Peter Warren, the hero of Lewisburg, is scarcely known to the present generation; and yet aside from his being so long identified with the naval glory of England, he was in our colonial history the great man of an era, and at one time, during the administration of Clinton, exercised more influence in the Colonial Government than even the Governor himself. At that time when the extreme limit of our city was Wall street, the house No. 1 Broadway, by the Bowling Green—now the Washington Hotel—was built by Sir Peter as his town house, in distinction from his country seat—the house of which we are now speaking. In 1748, when the small-pox was raging in this city, the Colonial Assembly—to get out of reach of the contagion, accepted Sir Peter's tender of his country seat and adjourned thither to escape the plague by being in the country! It indeed seemed really cruel to cut down those ancient trees planted by the Admiral's own hand. A tree, like a tooth, it very easily removed but is a long time in growing; and it is thus that a Spanish peasant feels when, with religious feeling, he stoops down by the wayside and plants the pit or seed of the fruit which

he has been eating. It were to be wished that Americans had more veneration for the ancient traditions of their own country and for the vestiges of the past. A few individuals occasionally have this feeling, and in a large measure; but as a nation we have no love for the past, and hence old landmarks, pregnant with hallowed associations, are continually being removed to make room for "modern improvement," until it is to be feared that soon oral tradition will be all that will be left to inform the rising generation of what once was. It is true that more attention is now paid to our past history than formerly by Historical Societies; but they are powerless in very many instances to arrest the hand of vandalism. The practice of the old country in this respect is far different. An old abbey or castle, or even an old tavern, is guarded with zealous care; the government—if private liberality is in fault—pays out large sums to keep them intact; and the people, even the lowest, feel a personal interest in the preservation of some relic which their village may perchance boast of. Especially is this difference in feeling between the old world and the new seen in the care with which all the mementos of a battle-field are preserved. In Germany, for example, while the most ignorant peasant residing in the vicinity of any of the battle-fields of the thirty years' war will tell you accurately and truthfully where this and that point of interest is; where the battle raged the hottest and where the turning point was reached; a well-to-do farmer in America, residing on the battle-field itself, will be unable to point out a single place of interest —and he will do very well if he knows that there was a battle fought on his farm at all. Even at this very time, two farmers, living in the vicinity of the scene of the famous battle of Stillwater, are busily advocating their claims to living upon the particular spot upon which the famous charge of the British Highlanders was made—and yet the farms lie a mile distant from each other! Chancing, moreover, to visit, a year or two since, the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, the writer was pained to find that the farmers in the vicinity had for several years past been in the habit of pulling down the ruins and drawing them off for the purpose of building fences. But it is not too late to prevent the removal of the few old landmarks that yet remain among us. In the densely settled parts of the city where they stand, there is great need of breathing-places—and why, therefore, cannot our city government buy the spots and let them remain as little parks? The public certainly would feel much better satisfied with this expenditure of the public funds by the City Council than voting silver services or costly badges. Or if this cannot be done, will not some of our wealthy and influential citizens start and carry through a subscription for their purchase?

But we moralize in vain, for even while we are writing, and before the ink is dry on the pen which wrote the last sentence, the *New York Evening Post* of to-day (April 4th, 1868), says:

"The widening of the Bloomingdale road into the new Boulevard, soon to be

begun by the Park Commissioners, will cause the removal of several old landmarks. One of the most remarkable of these is an old house on Broadway, between Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth streets, which possesses greater historic interest than is generally known even to those living in its immediate vicinity. It was here that Louis Phillippe, of France, taught school during his residence in America, and the room in which his classes were held remains in nearly the same condition as during his occupancy of it. This quaint old house was erected some time previous to the Revolution, although no accurate record of its age can be found. The original deed of transfer was executed in 1796, but the house is known to be considerably older than this, as it was standing several years previous to the sale of the farm.

It is a low two-story frame house with brick ends, covering a space fifty by eighty feet square, substantially built and still habitable, though it has not been occupied for the past thirteen years or more. A steep, sloping, shingle roof extends from the eaves of the porch in front to the extreme rear kitchen, with dormer windows to light the upper rooms. In the interior, on either side of the central hall, are parlors and sitting-rooms, with low ceilings and narrow doorways. The wood-work in these rooms is finished with an elaborate care not seen in houses of this class now-a-days. There are corner cupboards with carved and paneled doors, quaintly ornamented window casings, immense fire-places, surbases finished with a profusion of moulding, and doors that seem to have been put together like a Chinese puzzle. The stairs are narrow and steep, turning squarely at each platform, instead of winding, as in more modern houses. Around the fire-place in the school-room of the exiled King, is a row of blue and white Antwerp tiles, ornamented with pictures from the New Testament, with the chapter and verse to which they refer indicated in large characters beneath. These are probably the last that remain in New York of the historic Dutch tiles that were once so fashionable. This venerable mansion, which is probably the oldest in the city, was formerly the homestead of the Somerindike family, who once owned nearly all the surrounding part of the island not included in the extensive Harsen estate. About 1846 it was purchased by the late Edward F. Cullen, a well-known and wealthy Irish citizen, and is now owned by his heirs."

The history of New York City has now been brought down to a comparatively recent period—a period within the recollection of almost the youngest inhabitant. The limits of this work will not permit us to speak at length of the causes which have led to the commercial and local prosperity of New York; the nature and extent of her benevolent institutions; and the character of her merchant princes. Wealth, *in itself*, is no evidence of a city's prosperity; and, therefore, we do not refer to those of her rich men who are distinguished for that alone, and whose names will readily suggest themselves to the reader. But we do take pride in pointing to men whose immense wealth is guided and controlled by the principles of evangelical religion. Of this latter class are Marshall O. Roberts, the brothers R. L. and A. Stewart, William E. Dodge, S. B. Schieffelin—and others of similar character—men who are distinguished alike for their christian virtues and purity of life, and for their unparalleled business success. Nor, were there ample space, is there any inclination to recall in detail that which must ever remain a foul blot on the otherwise bright escutcheon of New York: the disgraceful scenes of

the riot of the 13th, 14th, and 15th of July, 1863. We would rather dwell on pleasanter themes—the establishment of that noble work, the Young Men's Christian Association, under the guidance of William E Dodge, Jr., and Robert R. McBinney*—the opening of that great lung of the city, the Central Park,—and the part taken by the city in the late civil war—leading the van in every movement having for its object either the support of the Government, or the relief of its brave defenders. These events, however, are too well known to need recapitulation here. A brief retrospective glance, or rather a comparison between old and modern New York, will therefore conclude this sketch. Nor, perhaps, can this be done better than by giving at length a few of the closing passages of Dr. Osgood's admirable address, delivered before the New York Historical Society, on the occasion of its sixty-second anniversary, in November, 1866 :

"In 1796, taxes were light, being about one half of one per cent.; and in that year the whole tax raised was £7,968, and the whole valuation of property was £1,261,585—estimates that were probably about half the real value, so that the tax was only about one-fourth of one per

* The Young Men's Christian Association, of New York City, was organized July, 1852, and incorporated April, 1860, for the "Improvement of the Spiritual, Mental, Social, and Physical Condition of Young Men." The Association seeks to accomplish the purposes of its organization by the employment of the following agencies, namely: Free Reading-Rooms, a Free Circulating and a Free Reference Library, Sunday Evening Sermons, Free Lectures at Rooms, Prayer-Meetings, Bible-Classes, Social and Musical Meetings, Readings, a Literary Society, and a Musical Society; by aiding in the selection of good boarding-places; by obtaining, as far as possible, situations for those who are out of employment; by visiting and relieving those who are sick and in want; by introducing strangers to fit persons for friends and acquaintances, and to suitable church connections, and by the use of every other means, in harmony with the name it bears, that may tend to cheer, aid, and guide young men, especially such as come from country homes or foreign lands.

A very valuable plot of land on the south-west corner of Fourth avenue and Twenty-third street has recently been purchased, at a cost of $142,000, for the erection of a building worthy of the work to which the Association has devoted its energies. The building will cost about $200,000. The vigor and good judgment with which the Association has always conducted its work, has given to it the full confidence of the very best men in the city. Its real estate is held by a Board of Trustees, composed of such men as Stewart Brown, Robert L. Stuart, James Stokes, Charles C. Colgate, Robert Lenox Kennedy, Jonathan Sturges, etc.

"Hundreds of young men," writes Mr. McBinney to the writer, "from all parts of our own land, as well as from Europe, come to us for advice on temporal and spiritual things. We are careful not to make public the cases which come under our notice, so that young men may come to us with full confidence when in difficulty. Many who have been thus quietly helped are now holding prominent positions in the city."

The Rooms of the Association are at 161 Fifth Avenue, 76 Varick street, and 122d street and Third avenue, and at 97 Wooster street for colored young men.

cent. A man worth $50,000 was thought rich, and some fortunes reached $250,000. Mechanics had a dollar a day for wages, and a genteel house rented for $350 a year, and $750 additional would meet the ordinary expenses of living for a genteel family—such as now spends from $6,000 to $10,000, we have good reason to believe, from such authority as Mr. D. T. Valentine, Clerk of the Common Council. A good house could be bought for $3,000 or $4,000, and flour was four and five dollars a barrel, and beef ten cents a pound.

There were great entertainments, and men ate and drank freely—more freely, apparently, than now—but nothing of present luxury prevailed in the high classes; and how rare the indulgence was, is proved by the common saying, that 'the Livingstons give champagne,' which marked their case as exceptional. Now, surely, a great many families in New York besides the Livingstons give champagne, and not always wisely for their own economy or their guests' sobriety.

These homely items give a familiar idea of old New York in 1801. We must remember that it was then a provincial city, and had nothing of its present back-country connection with the West, being the virtual capital of the Hudson River Valley rather than that of the great Empire State. Buffalo, Syracuse, Utica, and the noted cities of Western New York, were but names then, and Albany was of so little business note that the main communication with it was by dilatory sloops, such as Irving describes after his slow voyage in the craft that he long waited for, and which gave him ample time to study the picturesque on the Hudson, with such food for his humor as the Captain's talk in Dutch to his crew of negro slaves. What a contrast with a trip now in the *St. John* or the *Dean Richmond*—marine palaces that float you, as in a dream by night, through the charmed passes of the Hudson to Albany!

* * * * * *

The New York Churches were strong; but the clergy were little given to speculative thinking, and no commanding thinker appeared among them, such as abounded in New England. They kept the old creeds and usages with a strength that awed down dissent, and with a benign temper that conciliated favor. Latitudinarian tendencies were either suppressed or driven into open hostility with the popular creeds under deistical or atheistical teachers. In all, the congregations numbered thirty, and the Jews had one synagogue. Even the most radical congregation in the city, the Universalist, held mainly the old theological views, and had only one point of peculiar doctrine, and even with this single exception, and with all the orthodox habits, they had only a lay organization in 1801, and were without a regular minister till 1803.

The Dutch Reformed, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists, numbered each five congregations; the Baptists, three; the Friends, two; the Lutherans, two; the Roman Catholics, Huguenots, Moravians, and

Universalists, one each. Some writers erroneously assign seven churches, instead of five, to the Episcopalians in 1801, by claiming for them the Huguenot Church Du Saint Esprit, which was established in 1704, and acceded to the Episcopal Church in 1804; and Zion Church, which was established by the Lutherans in 1801, and joined the Episcopal communion in 1810.

As far as we can judge, the Presbyterian clergy had most of the new American culture of the severer kind, and Drs. Samuel Miller and John M. Mason were the intellectual leaders of the New York pulpit. The only man to be named with them in popular influence was John Henry Hobart, who was ordained in 1801, consecrated Bishop in 1811, and who, in spite of his extreme views of Episcopal prerogative, is to be named among the fathers of the American Church, and a good specimen of what old Trinity Church has done to unite patriotism with religion.

The Episcopal Church had much accomplishment in its clergy, and Bishop Prevoost, who received ordination in England, was a man of extensive knowledge; and Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch Church, was a good match for him in learning and dignity. It is said that when these clerical magnates met on Sundays and exchanged salutations, they took up the entire street, and reminded beholders of two frigates under full sail, exchanging salutes with each other.

* * We may regard old New York as culminating in the year 1825, with the completion of the Erie Canal; and that great jubilee that married this city to the mighty West, began a new era of triumph and responsibility, that soon proved that the bride's festival is followed by the wife's cares and the mother's anxieties. New York had become the national city, and was so for a quarter of a century more, and then she became cosmopolitan, European as well as American, and obviously one of the few leading cities of the world—the third city of Christendom. We may fix this change upon the middle of the century as well as upon any date, and call the time from 1850 till now her cosmopolitan era. The change, of course, was gradual, and the great increase of the city dates from the close of the Revolutionary War and the evacuation of the city by the British troops. The population doubled nearly in the ten years after 1790, and went from 33,000 to 60,000. In 1825 it reached 166,086, and in 1850 rose to 515,515. All this increase could not but bring a new sense of power, and throughout all the bewildering maze of the old New York politics we can see traces of the desire of the people and their leaders to dispute the palm of empire with Virginia and its old dominion.

* * The introduction of gas and of the Croton water were grand illustrations of the power of organized industry, and mighty aids in throwing light, health, and purity into the lives of the people; and the rise of the great popular daily journals that almost created the national press of America, made an era in the free fellowship of public thought. The City

pushed its triumphal march forward during that period, from Bleecker street to Madison Square, and vainly tried to halt its forces at Washington and Union Squares, or to pause long anywhere on the way of empire. The whole period would make an important history of itself, and our task now is with the New York of to-day, as it has risen into cosmopolitan rank since 1850—the year which gave us a line of European steamers of our own, and opened the Golden Gate of California to our packets.

Look at our city now in its extent, population, wealth, institutions, and connections, and consider how far it is doing its great work, under God's providence, as the most conspicuous representative of the liberty of the nineteenth century in its hopes and fears. You are too familiar with the figures and facts that show the largeness of the city, to need any minute or extended summary of recapitulation. That we are not far from a million of people on this island, that began the century with 60,000; that the valuation of property, real and personal, has risen since 1805 from $25,000,000, to $736,988,058; that the real value of property here is about $1,000,000,000, or a thirtieth part of the entire property of Great Britain; that our taxes within that time have risen from $127,000 to $16,950,767, over four and a half millions more than our whole national expenditure in 1801; that our banking capital is over $90,000,000, and the transactions of our Clearing Houses, for the year ending October 1, 1866, were over $29,000,000,000; that our Savings-Banks have 300,000 depositors, and $77,000,000 of deposits; that our 108 Fire Insurance Companies and 38 Fire Agencies have a capital of $47,560,000, and our 18 Life Insurance Companies a capital of $2,938,000, whose premiums last year were nearly $9,000,000; that, by the census of 1865, the number of dwellings was 49,844, and the value of them was $423,096,918; that this city, by the census of 1860, returned a larger manufacturing product than any other city in the Union, and more than any State, except New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania—the sum total of $159,107,369, from raw material worth $96,177,038 in 4,375 establishments, with 90,204 operatives, and $61,212,757 capital, and manufactured nearly one-eleventh of the sum total of the United States manufactures in 1860, which was $1,885,861,676; that in twenty years we exported, from September 1, 1846, to September 1, 1866, to Europe, over 27,000,000 barrels of flour, over 164,000,000 bushels of wheat, 127,000,000 bushels of corn, nearly 5,000,000 bushels of rye; that the receipts for customs in this port for 1865 were $101,772,905; that this City is the great gold market of the world, and in 1865 received $61,201,108, and exported over $30,000,000 abroad, and received in twelve years, 1854 to 1866, from San Francisco $375,558,659 in gold; that our shipping, registered and enrolled in 1865, amounted in tonnage to 1,223,264 tons, and the number of arrivals of vessels in this port in 1865 was 12,634, of these, 2,078 being steamers; that our exports for the year

1865 were $208,630,282, and our imports were $224,742,419; that, on an average, 35 tons of mail-matter are received here for our citizens, and 55 tons are sent out daily; that the average number of mail-bags received is 385, and the average number sent out is 713; that within three years and a half the mail correspondence of our citizens has doubled; that the number of letters and newspapers collected by the carriers for the quarter ending December 31, 1865, was over 3,000,000, and the number delivered by them was over 3,600,000, and the deliveries from Post-Office boxes for the same quarter were over 5,000,000; that the increase of letters is so marvelous that New York may soon rival London, which, in 1862, received by mail 151,619,000 letters; these and the like plain statistics are sufficient to prove the imperial wealth and power of New York, and to startle us with the problem of its prospective growth, when we remember that $4\frac{6}{10}$ per cent. increase, which has been generally the actual rate of increase, will give us a population of some 4,000,000 at the close of the century.

* * Let us pass in review the industrial army of the city, which General Barlow, Secretary of State, allows me to copy from the unpublished census of 1865, and let us imagine it divided into regiments, thus, of about a thousand persons each:

Blacksmiths, over two and one-half	regiments or	2,621
Bookbinders, over one	"	1,134
Boiler Makers, nearly one	"	910
Boot and Shoe Makers, over six	"	6,307
Butchers, four	"	3,998
Brokers, one and one-third	"	1,348
Barbers, one	"	1,054
Cabinet Makers and Dealers, two and one-half	"	2,575
Carpenters, over six	"	6,352
Cartmen and Draymen, four and one-half	"	4,675
Clerks, seventeen and one-half	"	17,620
Clergy, nearly one-half	"	429
Confectioners, nearly one	"	756
Cooks, one	"	906
Coopers, one and one-half	"	1,401
Dressmakers, etc., nine and one-half	"	9,501
Drivers, nearly two	"	1,895
Engineers, over one	"	1,196
Grocers, one	"	937
Hat and Cap Makers, one and one-half	"	1,438
Jewelers, one	"	925
Laborers, twenty-one and one-quarter	"	21,231
Laundresses, three and one-half	"	3,590
Lawyers, one and one-fourth	"	1,232
Merchants, six	"	5,978
Machinists, three	"	3,108
Masons, three	"	2,757
Milliners, one and one-third	"	1,334

Musicians, nearly one	regiments or	809
Painters and Glaziers, four	"	3,801
Peddlers, two	"	1,988
Physicians, one and one-fourth	"	1,269
Piano Makers, nearly one	"	855
Plumbers, one	"	1,108
Police, one and one-half	"	1,546
Porters, nearly three	"	2,729
Printers, two	"	2,186
Saddlers and Harness Makers, one	"	915
Sailors and Marines, over three	"	3,288
Servants, thirty-three	"	33,282
School-Children, one hundred	"	100,000
Ship Carpenters, one	"	1,156
Stone Cutters, one and one-third	"	1,342
Tailors, ten	"	9,734
Teachers, over one and one-half	"	1,608
Tinsmiths, one	"	931

These occupations and others that I might present from the voluminous pages of the census, reckon about 150,000 of the people, and with school-children a quarter of a million.

* * The marvelous growth of population, within twenty years, has added half a million to our numbers, and called, of course, for new measures, and ought to be some excuse for some mistakes and disappointments. The charter bears the mark of many changes, and is destined to bear more. The original charter was given by James II, in 1686; was amended by Queen Anne in 1708; further enlarged by George II in 1730, into what is now known as Montgomerie's Charter, and as such was confirmed by the General Assembly of the Province in 1732, and made New York essentially a free city. The Mayor was appointed by the Provincial Governor and Council, till the Revolution; by the State Governor and four members of the Council of Appointment, till 1821; by the Common Council, until 1834, and afterward by the people. In 1830, the people divided the Common Council into two boards, and in 1849 the government was divided into seven departments, the heads of each being chosen by the people, and the Mayor's term of office being extended to two years. In 1853, the Board of Assistant Aldermen was changed to a Board of sixty Councilmen, and the term of Aldermen extended to two years. In 1857, the number of Aldermen was reduced from twenty-two to seventeen, and the sixty Councilmen to twenty-four; and the present complex system of government was established, with its many disconnected branches and equivocal division of power between the city, county, and State. Strangely is the Mayor shorn of power, and the office which De Witt Clinton preferred to his place in the National Senate, is now little more than a name and position. Still, the essence of Montgomerie's old charter remains, and the true spirit can redress the new corruptions.

* * With all the drawback of defective municipal government, the city is a great power in the Union, and gave its wealth and men to the nation. Nay, its very passion has been national, and the mass who deplored the war never gave up the Union, and might, perhaps, have consented to compromise rather than to disunion, and have gone beyond any other city in clinging to the Union as such, whether right or wrong. The thoughtful mind of the city saw the true issue, and, whilst little radical or *doctrinaire* in its habit of thinking, and more inclined to trust to historical tendencies and institutional discipline for the removal of wrong than to abstract ideas, it did not waver a moment after the die was cast, and the blow of rebellion and disunion was clear. The ruling business powers of the city gave money and men to the nation, when the Government was halting and almost paralyzed. The first loan was hazardous, and the work of patriotism; and when our credit was once committed, the wealth of the city was wholly at the service of the nation; and the ideas of New England, and the enthusiasm of the West, marched to victory with the mighty concurrence of the money and the men of the Empire City and State. The State furnished 473,443 men, or, when reduced to years of service, 1,148,604 years' service; equal to three years' service of 382,868 three years' men; and the city alone furnished 116,382 men, equal to 267,551 years' service, at a net cost of $14,577,214.65. That our moneyed men meant devoted patriotism, it is not safe to say of them all. In some cases, their capital may have been wiser and truer than the capitalist, and followed the great current of national life. Capital, like water, whose currents it resembles, has its own laws, and he who owns it cannot change its nature, any more than he who owns a water-power can change the power of the water. The capital of this city is bound, under God, to the unity of the nation, and, therefore, has to do a mighty part in organizing the liberty of the nineteenth century. Led by the same large spirit, and true to the Union policy which has been the habit of the community from the old Dutch times, the dominant thought of our people will be sure to vindicate the favorite idea of States Rights *in* the Union against States Wrongs *out* of it; and the seceded States will be restored as soon as they secure the States that have never seceded the just fruits of the war for the national life—and guarantee them against all repetition of the treason. The end shall be liberty for all; for the white man and the black man, everywhere; for the South as well as the North.

* * And how shall we estimate the education of our people in its various forms; by schools, colleges, newspapers, books, churches, and, not least, by this great university of human life which is always before our eyes! Think of the 208,309 scholars reported in 1865 in our public schools, and the average attendance of 86,674 in those schools, and over 100,000 scholars in regular attendance in all our schools, both public and private.

Think of our galleries of art, private and public, and our great libraries and reading-rooms like the Astor, the Mercantile, the Society, and the Cooper Union. Consider the remarkable increase of private libraries, such as Dr. Wynne has but begun to describe in his magnificent volume. Think of our press, and its constant and enormous issues, especially of daily papers, which are the peculiar literary institution of our time, and alike the common school and university of our people. Our 350 churches and chapels, 258 of them being regular churches of all kinds, can accommodate about 300,000 hearers, and inadequate as in some respects they are, as to location and convenience, they can hold as many of the people as wish to attend church, and far more than generally attend. Besides our churches and chapels, we have powerful religious instrumentalities in our religious press, and our city is the center of publication of leading newspapers, magazines, and reviews, of the great denominations of the country. In these organs the best scholars and thinkers of the nation express their thought in a way wholly unknown at the beginning of the century, when the religious press of the country was not apparently dreamed of. The higher class of religious and theological reviews that are published here, are, perhaps, the best specimens of the most enlarged scholarship and severe thinking of America, and are doing much to educate an enlightened and truly catholic spirit and fellowship. If the question is asked, in view of all these means of education, what kind of mind is trained up here, or what are the indications of our New York intelligence, it may not be so easy to say in full, as to throw out a hint or two by way of suggestion. There is, certainly, what may be called a New York mind and character, and there must be from the very nature of the case. Some characteristics must mark each community, as the results of birth and breeding; and however great the variety of elements, some qualities must predominate over others in the people, as in the climate and fruits of a country. Where two tendencies seem to balance each other for a time, one is sure, at last, to preponderate, and to gain value and power with time, and win new elements to itself. It is not hard to indicate the essential New York character from the beginning. It is positive, institutional, large-hearted, genial, taking it for granted that all men are not of one pattern, and that we are to live by allowing others to have their liberty as we have ours.

* * How far assimilation in its various forms of thought and life is to go, we can only conjecture; for the process has but begun. Our community, like every other community, must go through three stages of development to complete its providential evolution: aggregation, accommodation, and assimilation. The first stage is aggregation; and that comes, of course, with the fact of residence. Here we are, about a million of us, aggregated on this healthy and charming island, and here we most of us expect and wish to stay. We are seeking our next stage, and wish

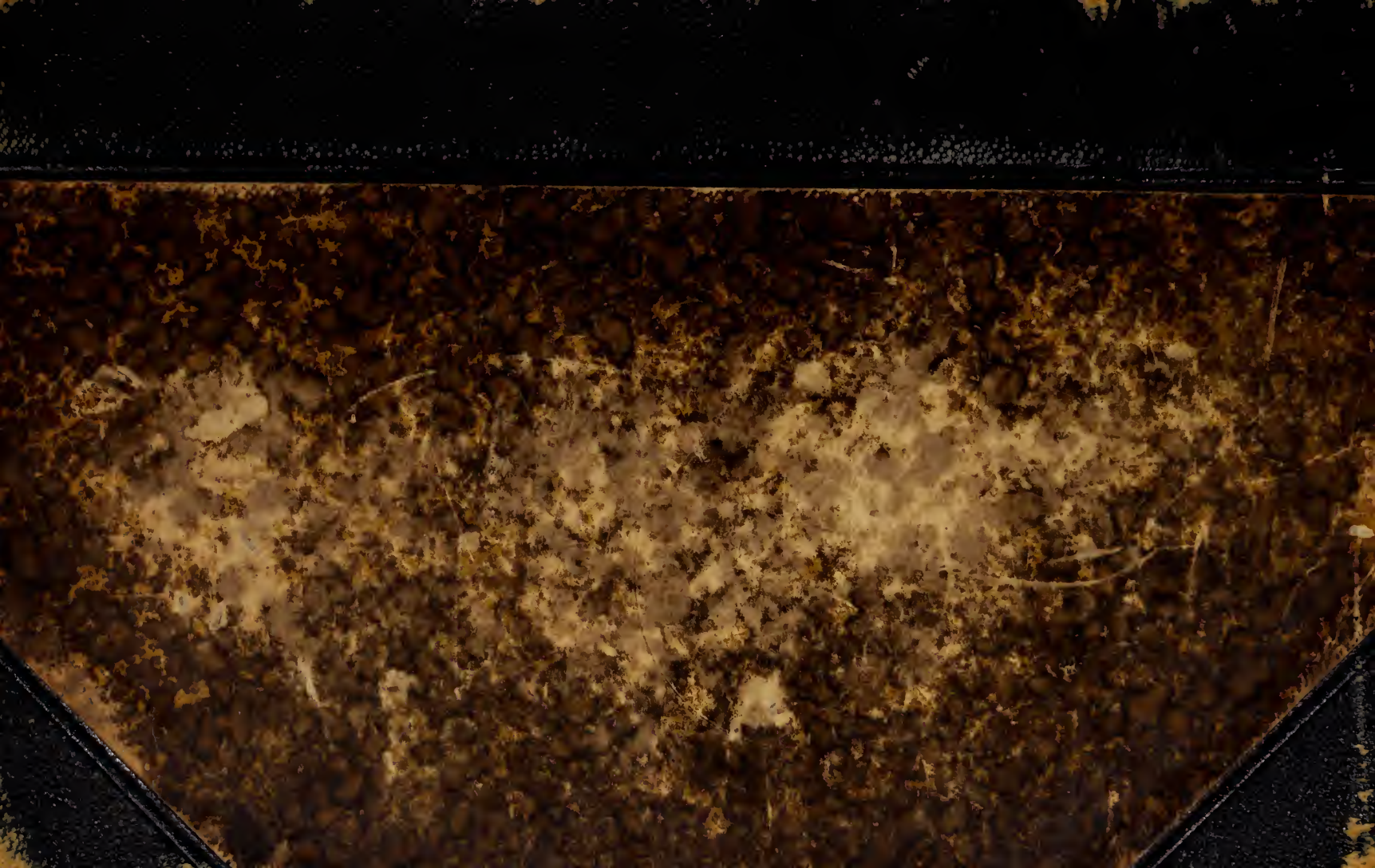
accommodation not with entire success, and the city is distressed by prosperity, and is like an overgrown boy, whose clothes are too small for his limbs, and he waits in half nakedness for his fitting garments. In some respects, the city itself is a majestic organism, and we have light, water, streets, and squares, much to our mind, always excepting the dirt. The scarcity of houses, the costs of rent, living, and taxation are grievous, and driving a large portion of our middling class into the country. Yet the city is full and overflowing, and is likely to be. The work of assimilation is going on, and every debate, controversy, and party, brings the various elements together; and we are seeing each other, whether we differ or agree. Great progress has been made in observing and appreciating our situation and population. Probably New York knows itself better to-day than at any time since its imperial proportions began to appear. In politics, police, philanthropy, education, and religion, we are reckoning our classes, numbers, and tendencies, and feeling our way towards some better harmony of ideas and interests. The whole population of the city was, by census of 1860, 813,669; and by the census of 1865, 726,386. The voters number 151,838; native, 51,500; foreign, 77,475. Over twenty-one years, they who cannot read and write are 19,199. Families number 148,683. Total of foreigners by census of 1860, was 383,717; and by the census of 1865, 313,417. Number of women by census of 1865 was 36,000 more than of men, and of widows, over 32,000; being 25,000 more widows than widowers. The Germans, by the census of 1860, numbered 119,984; and by the census of 1865, 107,269. This makes this city not the third, but the eighth city in the world as to German population. These German cities have a larger population: Berlin, Vienna, Breslau, Cologne, Munich, Hamburg, and Dresden. The Irish, by the census of 1860, number 203,700; and by the census of 1865, 161,334. New York now, we believe, has a million of residents, and either peculiar difficulties in the census commission of 1865, or peculiar influences after the war, led to the appearance of diminishing population. Certainly we have, of late, gained numbers, and have not lost in variety of elements to be assimilated. The national diversities are not hostile, and we are seeking out their best, instead of their worst, qualities. Italian art and French accomplishment we can appreciate without forgetting that we are Americans. We are discerning in our New York Germany something better than Lager Beer and Sunday Concerts, and learning to appeal to the sterling sense and indomitable love of liberty of the countrymen of Luther and Gutenberg. The Irish among us, who make this the second if not the first Irish city of the world, and who contribute so largely to our ignorant and criminal returns, we are studying anew, and discerning their great service to industry and their great capacity for organization. We find among them good specimens of the blood of the Clintons and the Emmets, and are bound to acknowledge that in purity,

their wives and daughters may be an example to any class in America or Europe. Old Israel is with us too in force, and some thirty synagogues of Jews manifest the power of the oldest organized religion, and the example of a people that cares wholly for its own sick and poor; willing to meet Christians as friends and citizens, and learn our religion more from its own gospel of love, than from its old conclaves of persecution. We often see other types of the Oriental mind in our streets and houses, and it will be well for us when Asia is here represented by able specimens of her mystical piety, and we learn of her something of the secret of her repose in God, and give her in return something of our art of bringing the will of God to bear upon this stubborn earth, instead of losing sight of the earth in dreams of pantheistic absorption. In many ways the various elements are combining to shape our ideas and society, and fill out the measure of our practical education.

Yet, probably, the most important assimilation, as already hinted, is that which is going on here between the various elements of our American life in this mother-city which is destined, aparently, to be to America what Rome was to the tribes that thronged to its gates. What has been taking place in England is taking place here, and the Independents and Churchmen are coming together here as in England since the Revolution of 1688, when extremes were greatly reduced, and the independency of Milton and Cromwell began to reappear in combination with the church ways of Clarendon and Jeremy Taylor. The most significant part of the process is the union here of Puritan individualism and its intuitive thinking and bold ideas, with New York institutionalism, and its organizing method and objective mind. The Yankee is here, and means to stay, and is apparently greatly pleased with the position and reception, and enjoys the fixed order and established paths of his Knickerbocker hosts. It is remarkable that whilst New England numbered only some 20,000, or 19,517 of her people here, which is 7,000 less than the nations of Old England in the city, by the census of 1860, they are so well received and effective, and fill so many and important places in business and the professions. By the census of 1865, New York City has 17,856 natives of New England, and 19,699 natives of Old England; a balance of 1,843 in favor of Old England. Yet, in the State at large, the result is different, for the population numbers 166,038 natives of New England, and 95,666 natives of Old England; a balance of 70,372 in favor of New England. It is curious to note that the city had only 825 native Dutch in 1865, and the State 4,254. In a philosophical point of view, it is memorable that the Puritan mind is now largely in power, even in our church establishments that so depart from New England independency, and the leading Presbyterian and Episcopal preachers and scholars are largely from the Puritan ranks. Our best informed scholar in the philosophy of religion, who holds the chair of theological instruction in the Presbyterian Semi-

nary, is a New England Congregationalist, transplanted to New York. Nay, even the leading, or at least the most conspicuous, Roman Catholic theologian of New York, is the son of a Connecticut Congregationalist minister, and carries the lineal blood and mental habit of his ancestor, Jonathan Edwards, into the illustration and defense of the Roman creed. It is worthy of note that our most philosophical historian is the son of a Massachusetts Congregational minister, and a lover of the old scholastic thinking, and a champion of the ideal school of Edwards and Channing in its faith and independency; author, too, of perhaps the most bold and characteristic word of America to Europe, the oration of February 22, 1866, that was the answer of our new world to British Toryism, and Romish Obscurantism, whether to the Premier's mock neutral manifesto, or the Pope's Encyclical Letter.

* * It is the province of the New York Historical Society to keep up the connection of the New York of the past with the New York of to-day, and zealously to guard and interpret all the historical materials that preserve the continuity of our public life. It is to be lamented that so little remains around us to keep alive the memory of the ancient time; and everything almost that we see is the work of the new days. Sad it is that all the old neighborhoods are broken up, and the old houses and churches are mostly swept away by our new prosperity. But how impressive are our few landmarks? We all could join in the Centennial Jubilee of St. Paul's, and wish well to its opening future. So, too, we can greet our neighbors of the John Street Church in their Centennial, and thank God for the one hundred years of New York Methodism. Who of us can pass without reflection by the old Middle Dutch Church, now our Post Office, in Nassau street, and without recalling the years and events that have passed since 1729, when it was opened for worship in the Dutch tongue? In March, 1764, the preaching there was, for the first time, in English, and in August, 1844, Dr. De Witt gave an outline of its history and pronounced the benediction in Dutch; and that old shrine of the Knickerbockers is now the busy brain of the nation and the world, and receives and transmits some forty tons of thought a day. What would one of those old Rip Van Winkles of 1729 have thought, if he could have prolonged his Sunday afternoon nap in one of those ancient pews till now, and awoke to watch the day's mail, with news by the last steamers and the Atlantic cable for all parts of the great continent? Our Broadway, ever changing, and yet the same old road is perhaps our great historical monument, and the historical street of America by eminence. All the men of our history have walked there, and all nations and tribes have trodden its stones and dust. In our day what have we seen there, what processions, armies, pageants? What work would be more an American as well as New York history, than Broadway, described and illustrated with text and portraits, from the times when Stuyvesant aston-

ished the Dutch with his dignity to the years that have brought the hearse of our murdered President and the carriage of his successor along its stately avenue? Thank heaven for old Broadway, noble type of American civilization, from the Battery to Harlem River, and may the ways of the city be as straight as the lines of its direction and as true to the march of the Providence of God.

* * What the orator who ushers in the twentieth century here, or who celebrates your one hundredth anniversary, may have to say as he reviews the nineteenth century, I will not undertake to say. What we should wish and pray for is clear. Clear that we should wish the new times to keep the wisdom and virtue of the old with all the new light and progress; clear that after our trying change from the old quarters to the new, we may build a nobler civilization on the new base, and so see better days than ever before; that the great city that shall be here, should be not only made up of many men, but of true manhood, and be not only the capital of the world, but the city of God; its great park the central ground of noble fellowship, its great wharves and markets the seat of honorable industry and commerce; its public halls the headquarters of free and orderly Americans, its churches the shrines of the blessed faith and love that join man with man and give open communion with God and heaven.